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*No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways
profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to make
and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust
and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish
and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utter-
ly to be cast away.—MILTON.*

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Nº CXI.

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BENGAL.

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RA'JSHA'HI is bounded on the North by Dinájpur, on the East by Pabná, on the West by Máldah and on the South by the Padmá. It lies between latitude $24^{\circ} 6'$ — $24^{\circ} 58'$, longitude $88^{\circ} 18'$ — $89^{\circ} 20'$, is 62 miles in length from East to West, and 50 in breadth.

It was ceded to the East India Company by an imperial grant of the Dívání, dated Dehli, 1765.

Rájsháhi is one of the most important districts of Bengal. At once populous and productive, it has been and still is the seat of the nobility of Bengal. Situated on the Great Ganges and separated by that river from Murshidábád, the former Muham-madan capital of this province, it commands a strong position. It is the head-quarters of the Commissioner of the Murshidábád Division, and may be regarded as the chief district of Eastern Bengal.

There is a conclave of Rájás and untitled noblemen of Rájsháhi. Most of the families represented by them have decayed, but they

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at one time were large Zamíndárs and performed important functions.

The Thákurs, or as they are commonly called, the Rájás of Patiýá constitute the oldest territorial aristocracy of Rájsháhi. They reside in Patiýá which is now a police sub-station and situated half way between Nátor the former, and Boáliýá the present, sadar station of the district. Their principal estate is Lashkarpur, a Parganá extending over a large tract of country and situated on both sides of the Padmá. They are said to have acquired it from Shaikh Lashkar, an officer attached to the court of Murshidábád.

The origin of the Patiýá family is as follows :—

There lived, according to tradition, in his ásrám at Patiýá a Rishi named Batsaráchárjya, who spent his days in devotion. During his time Lashkar Khán, who had got a grant of Jágir called Parganá Lashkarpur from the Emperor of Dehli, having died, his estate lapsed to the Government. At this period, Bengal was governed by eighteen Súbahdárs, who collected the rent and transmitted the same to the Emperor. After some time the Súbahdárs conspired against the Emperor, and determined to withhold the rents. For the purpose of checking their insubordination, the Emperor sent a General with a suitable force. On his arrival, he had a secret interview with the Saint Batsaráchárjya, who entertained him and his officers, and questioned them as to their mission. After being acquainted with it he wished them success, and pointed out the means of attaining it. The General fought with the Súbahdárs and brought them to their senses. Having accomplished his mission, he saw Batsaráchárjya and received his congratulations on his success. In recognition of the good services and wishes of the Saint, the General obtained the permission from the Emperor to grant him Lashkarpur, which had escheated on the demise of the former proprietor. Batsaráchárjya leading a religious life, did not appreciate the pecuniary advantages of the grant or take any pains to develop its resources. His son Pítámbar was a clever man, who ingratiated himself with the Emperor and took possession of his paternal estate Lashkarpur. On the death of Pítámbar his younger brother Nílánrbar succeeded him in his estate, and by his exertions enhanced the value of the estate. His youngest son Ananda during the life-time of his father had received the title of Rájá from the Emperor. His son Ratikánta in consequence of certain unpopular acts, did not inherit the title of Rájá, but was known among the people as "Thákur," a title which still distinguishes the family. For the support of necessitous people, his son Rámchandra established the idol Rádhágovind. He died leaving three sons, viz., Naranáráin, Darpanáráin, and Jaynáráin Thákur. During the time of Nara-

náráin, Kámdeva, the father of Raghunandana—the founder of the Nátor family—was employed as a Tahsildár of Bárai-háti.

It was when Darpanáráin became the head of the family that Raghunandana, the founder of the Nátor Ráj, experienced a change of fortune, being promoted from a humble gatherer of flowers to the office of Vakíl of the Pati-yá family in the Court of Murshidábád. Of his career full details will be given in the proper place.

During the *régime* of Lord Cornwallis, Anandanáráin was the head of the Pati-yá family. With him the Permanent Settlement of Lashkarpur was made. The estate was assessed at Rs. 1,89,592-4-0. One of the successors of Anandanáráin, Rájendranáráin, received from the Government the title of Rájá Bahádur. Jagannáráin, another successor of the family in the Bengali era 1214, made the following additions to the Pati-yá estate by purchase, *viz.*, Parganá Pukhariá in Zila Maimansinh, Parganá Káligrám Kálisaphá, and Kázíhátá in Zila Rájsháhi, Bhabá-naudadiar in Zila Nadiyá and several small zamíndáris. Having thus enhanced his profits, he devoted a portion thereof to the establishment of a religious endowment at Benares; he also built a ghát and a guest-house in that city. He erected another guest-house on the banks of the river Phálgú in Behar. In the year 1216, B.S., his hereditary title of Rájá was confirmed. He died in Paush in 1223, B.S. His widowed wife erected at Pati-yá a temple dedicated to Siva, and celebrated the occasion by large grants of Lákhiráj lands to learned Bráhmans. He used to distribute in the cold weather clothes to the poor, and during the rainy season to feed both men and cattle, an example which is followed by the amiable, excellent and benevolent young Rání Saratsundarí, widow of the late Jogendranáráin Rái; the latter was educated at the Wards' Institution and gave ample promise of pursuing an exemplary career, but died a premature death. We give below the pedigree of the Pati-yá family.

Batsaráchárijya

Pitámbar

Nilámbar

Ratikánta

Rámchandra

Naranáráin

Darpanáráin

Jaynáráin

Premnáráin

Chandranáráin

Pratápnáráin

Anupnáráin

Kisorínáráin

Brajendranáráin

Narendranáráin

Modanáráin

Rupendranáráin

Pránnáráin Thákur

Kesabnáráin

Gokulendranáráin Rái

Bhubannendranáráin

Rudranáráin

Lakehmnáráin

Rájá Rajendranáráin

Anandanáráin

Jagannáráin

Krishnendranáráin

Golakendranáráin

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Bhupendranáráin	Nimnáráin
Mahesnáráin	Rámnáráin
Girínáráin	Táraknáráin
Iswarnáráin	Kedárnáráin
Ishánnáráin	Jádabunáráin Rái
Rámnáráin	Srínáráin Rái
Mathurendranáráin	Jogendranáráin Rái
Rání Bhulanmayi Debí, widow of Rájá Jagannáráin	Debendranáráin Rái
Harendranáráin	Bhubendranáráin Rái
Bhairabendranáráin	Gopálendranáráin Rái
Brajendranáráin Rái	Baikunthanáráin Rái
Rájá Paresnáráin Rái	Angesnáráin Rái
Ramesnáráin	Kásináráin Rái
	Kumár Jyotíndranáráin Rái

There lived in Mauzá Nátor, in Pargana Lashkarpur, a Bráhmaṇ, named Kámdeva. He had three sons, namely, Rámjibana, Raghunandana and Vishnurám. Raghunandana was employed in the Patiyá family. He at first served in an humble capacity, but he subsequently rose to power and affluence, partly through the influence of that family, and partly through his own intelligence, cunning and unscrupulousness. It was originally his business, as we have already stated to gather flowers for the performance of the Pújá of the family idols. Tradition says that on one occasion while he was employed in this vocation, he was fatigued and fell asleep in a garden, and a snake was observed to spread its hood over his head to protect him from the scorching sun. This circumstance being reported to Darpanáráin Rái, the head of the Patiyá family, he was surprised at it, and predicted from it the future greatness of Raghunandana. He sent for Raghunandana, assured him that he would be a great Rájá and extorted from him a promise not to dispossess his family by fair or foul means, of the Parganá Lashkarpur. Not dreaming that he would be a Zamíndar, he readily gave the required promise and said that if he were to own the whole of Rájsháhi, he would except Lashkarpur from his possessions. He was true to his word. When he became the largest Zamíndár in Bengal, and his landed possessions embraced nearly the whole of Rájsháhi and large portions of Jessor, Farídpur, Pabná, Maimansinh and other districts, he did not lay his hands on Lashkarpur.

Darpanáráin Rái assisted in the fulfilment of his own prophecy. Finding Raghunandana to be an intelligent person, and far above his position he employed him as his Mukhtár and representative in Dháká (Dacca), or as it was then called Jahángirá, the then seat of Government. He was afterwards employed in a similar capacity in Murshidábád when the Government was transferred from Dháká (Dacca). It was the custom, as observed in the Fifth Report of the Select Committee on the Affairs of the East India Company, "for

the landholders of distinction and other principal inhabitants to maintain in proportion to their rank, an intercourse with the ruling power, and in person or by Vakíl or agent to be in constant attendance at the seat of Government, or with the officers in authority over the district where their lands or their concerns were situated. To establish an interest at the darbár, and to procure the protection of some powerful patron, were to them objects of unceasing solicitude."

Raghunandana soon mastered the rules and regulations of the Muhammadan Code and ingratiated himself with the officers of the Nawáb. He particularly won the golden opinions of the Kánúngo, the most influential officer of the Court. Being satisfied with his rare abilities both as a lawyer and a financier, the Kánúngo employed him as his assistant or Náib Kánúngo. In this capacity it was his duty to prepare statements of account and stamp them with the seal of his master before submission to the Nawáb and then to the Emperor. He enjoyed the entire confidence of the Kánúngo, and was entrusted with his seal. The Kánúngo was the registrar of the land and expounder of the customs and usages in regard to the same. All documents attested by him were received as authoritative and conclusive in disputes regarding the boundaries, rent, and revenue of lands.

About this time the Nawáb incurred the severe displeasure of his Suzerain by his careless management of the Subah. With a view to ward off his Majesty's displeasure and win back his favour, the Nawáb had a false statement of account prepared. The Kánúngo being called upon to sign and stamp it with his seal, he refused to do so. He said he would not be a party to such a proceeding. The Nawáb was placed in a dilemma, for it was then the custom that papers not bearing the signature and seal of the Kánúngo were neither accepted nor sanctioned by the Emperor. During this crisis the Nawáb, according to tradition, sent for Raghunandana and asked him to put the seal on his account. Unable to resist the terrible temptation of winning the favour of His Excellency, Raghunandana complied with the requisition. The accounts were sanctioned by the Emperor and the Nawáb was saved. His Excellency evinced his gratification and gratitude by appointing Raghunandana as Rái Ráyán and Díwán. The Rái Ráyán is the principal officer of the province next to the Díwán, and the Díwán represented the Nawáb in all matters of detail regarding the Government. These posts opened to him a vista of greatness, and enabled him to reap a rich harvest of rupees. The Díwánship was especially a post of great importance and honour. It clothed its incumbent with the powers of the Nawáb. In the case of weak-minded Nawábs, the Díwán was the *de facto* Nawáb, and in the case of strong-minded Nawábs, he was the

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Náib or sub-Viceroy, and enjoyed and exercised an authority second to that of his master.

During the Muhammadan *régime*, although the hereditary character of Zamíndárs was generally recognised, as we will show presently, it was often the custom to deprive defaulting Zamíndárs, as well as those guilty of murder or rebellion, or having no influence in the Court, of their estates and transfer the same as gifts or for some nominal consideration to some favourite at the Court of Murshidábád or their relatives. In this way Bhagabati and Ganesnáráin, the Chaudhrís of Parganá Bangáchi, being defaulters were dispossessed of their property, and it was made over to Rámjibana, the brother of Raghunandana through the influence of the latter. The transfer was effected in the Bengali era 1113. Thus Rámjibana became the Zamíndár of Bangáchi and the co-founder of the Nátor Ráj. In the Bengali era 1115, Rájá Uditnáráin, a Zamíndár of Rájsháhi being gathered to his father, his estates were made over in like manner to Rámjibana. The Zamíndáris during the days of Raghunandana were classed under three denominations, namely, Jangalburi, Intikálí and Ahkámí. The first comprises land which having been reclaimed from waste by the diligence and industry of another person is bestowed upon him on condition of his paying *Khiráj* or the revenue of the Crown. The second class or Intikálí may be productive, and in a good state of cultivation, yet on account of the neglect of the Zamíndárs to pay the arrears of revenue (*Jama Pádsháhi*) or his dying without issue or leaving no heir, or for committing rebellion, another person may, under the orders of the Emperor obtain a sanad for the estate. The last class Ahkámí, meaning by order or authority, is when the Zamíndár is ousted for no fault of his own but through the intrigues of the officers about the person of the Nawáb for their own benefit. The Zamíndáris in this case were granted to the officers in their own names or in those of their relatives.

In 1117 Bengali era, on the death of Rámkrishna, the Zamíndár of Bhitariá, &c., Raghunandana got the management of the Zamíndári which remained in the name of Rání Sarbaní, the Zamíndár's widow; but she dying soon after without heirs, the Zamíndári was transferred in the name of his brother Rámjibana. In 1120 Uditnáráin, the Zamíndár of Rájsháhi, being discontented with the oppression of the officers of the Nawáb, rebelled, collected his adherents, and retired to the hills of Sultánuba. Raghunandana was deputed to arrest him. He seized and confined him in prison for which service he was rewarded with the Zamíndári of Rájsháhi, which he took in 1121 in the name of his brother Rámjibana. A year after this, the Parganá Naldaha was conferred by the

Nawáb upon his brother Rámjibana. Some time afterwards, Sitáram, the Zamíndár of Jessor, was apprehended and confined for the murder of the Fauzdár, Abutarab, but dying in confinement, his Zamíndári Bhushná, together with that of Ibráhim-pur, &c., was given to Rámjibana. In the course of a few years the entire district of Rájsháhi, save and except Parganá Lashkar-pur, became the property of Rámjibana. When it is remembered that the Rájsháhi of Rámjibana's days embraced the whole of Pabná and Bagurá and portions of other districts, some idea of the extent of his Zamíndári may be formed. The large estate of Sutar which had been in the possession of Sitáram, was wrested from him for his rebelliousness and bestowed on Rámjibana. In process of time, the Nátor Ráj developed into gigantic dimensions. It embraced the Parganá of Sháhujiál in the west, and the Zamíndári of Bhushná, the Parganá Naldi and Mukimpur on the east, and immense portions of other estates in other districts. It constituted unquestionably the largest Zamíndári during the last century. It was commonly called an estate of 52 lákhs. Such were the origin and the progress of the Nátor Ráj, Its real founder was unquestionably Raghunandana, but its grandeur and reputation were due not so much to his capacity and cunning as to the management and energy of Rámjibana and his Diwán.

The estate of Bhushná was very large and comprised the bulk of Farúdpur and Parganá Naldí in Jessor. It was assessed at the Permanent Settlement at Rs. 3,30,000. The assessment was very high, and was in excess of the proceeds of the estate.

Raghunandana died in 1131, and his infant son, Bhawání Prasád, expired after a short period. The management of the Nátor Ráj then devolved on Devíprasád, the son of Vishnurám and Kálíkáprasád, the son of Rámjibana, the latter exercising a controlling authority. At about this time, Kishwar Khán, Shamsheer Khán, and Ináyat Khán, &c., Zamíndárs of Hávilí, Máhmudábád, Sháhujiál, Tunji and Sarúppur, and Isfindar Beg, Zamíndár of Parganá Pukpariá, being thrown into confinement for murder, their Zamíndáris were escheated and conferred on Rámjibana. Afterwards Ináyat Ullá, Zamíndár of Jalálpur, falling in arrears, sold Hávilí, Fathiábád, &c., to Rámjibana to make good his revenues.

We have now to describe a man who played no insignificant part in the annals of Rájsháhi.

Dayáram Rái was an extraordinary man. Of his antecedents nothing is known. Though he did not receive a high education, yet he was endowed with uncommon intelligence. What school had denied him, nature supplied him with Sharp, shrewd and sagacious, he could read men as

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scholars read books. He could deal in his own way with those with whom he was brought into contact. He was a first-rate man of business, and he thoroughly understood the principles as well as the details of it. He was large of heart and large of brain. He first appears on the stage of Nátor as an inferior officer of the Ráj under its founder Rámjibana. But the consummate tact and clear judgment he evinced in the transaction of zamíndárí affairs soon won him the golden opinions of his chief and he was soon appointed the Díwán of the Ráj. Were it not for his good management, Rámjibana could not have extended or preserved his zamíndárí. In truth, while Raghurám at Murshidábád was the creator of the Nátor estate, Dayáram was the consolidator of it. While one was the Clive, the other was the Hastings of the Ráj. Dayáram was a skilled and experienced financier and was able so to husband the resources of the Ráj as to add funded to landed wealth. He was also a valiant man. When the expedition against the rebel Rájá Sítáram Rái of Máhmudpur in Jessor was organised, Rámjibana with the permission of the Nawáb, appointed Dayáram to head the same. Sítáram showed fight, but Dayáram at last captured him and brought him to Nátor where he died after a short imprisonment. The successful issue of the expedition earned for Dayáram the unqualified satisfaction of the Nawáb. His Excellency was also pleased with him for the admirable way in which he carried out several orders entrusted to him directly. In recognition of his merits, the Nawáb conferred upon him the title of "Rái Ráyán" which is tantamount to Rájá Bahádur.

Rájá Dayáram received from Rámjibana substantial tokens of the gratification of the latter, in the shape of several valuable zamíndáris. He was so entirely trusted by Rámjibana that he was appointed guardian to his successor Rámkánta and manager of the Ráj after his death.

Kálíprosad having died during the life time of his father in 1131, corresponding to A.D. 1725, Rámjibana wanted to give ten annas of his estate to his great-grandson Rámkánta, and the remaining six annas to his nephew Devíprasád, but the latter not being agreeable to this partition, the whole was bestowed on Rámkánta.

In 1737, Rámjibana died, leaving the temporary charge of the Ráj in the hands of his friend and counsellor Dayáram Rái. His management of the Ráj during the interregnum was admirable and evinced great sagacity and impartiality. In process of time Dayáram made it over to Rámkánta. In 1146, corresponding to 1740, the estates of Sarúppur and Patladá came into the possession of Rámkánta. The latter estate scarcely yielded at that time Rs. 7,000, but the profits of it and its adjoining zemindaries

were enhanced by the late Hon'ble Prasanná Kumár Thákur to more than three lákhs of rupees per annum.

When Rámkánta succeeded to the Ráj, he was 18 years old. He was a pious man and devoted his time to the performance of the Pújás and religious duties, but he had no capacity for business. He had been married to a girl of uncommon sagacity. She was 15 years old when she became, as the consort of the Mahárájá, Mahárání Bhabání. She was the most celebrated personage in the whole family and her administration of the Ráj, during the last half of the last century, was memorable. If Rámkánta had had something of the intelligence and far-sightedness of his wife, he would have succeeded in managing the Ráj, but he had not in his whole composition a particle of that strong common sense and clear judgment which distinguished the Mahárání Bhabání. He was destitute of the faculty of appreciating the merits of men and he could never distinguish friends from foes. A few months after he succeeded to the estate, he quarrelled with Dayáram Rái who had been the firm friend, the trusted adviser and confidential agent of Rámjíbana. The Ráj being in arrears, Dayáram remonstrated with the Mahárájá against his careless management and pointed out to him the necessity and importance of collecting and punctually forwarding the revenue to the Nawáb. Rámkánta being unable to appreciate this disinterested advice was offended with his out-spokenness. He first ceased to be guided by the advice of Dayáram, then ceased to show common courtesy to him, whom he had been taught by Rámjíbana to regard and address as his *Dádá* or elder brother and at last he dismissed him from the post of *Díwán*. Surrounded by a band of flatterers he was led by them to believe Dayáram to be more an enemy than a friend. Dayáram was astounded and disgusted with this treatment. Unable to brook this insult and wishing to bring the young Mahárája to his senses, he proceeded to Murshidábád where he represented the real state of things to the Nawáb. Having entire confidence in the Rái Ráyán, His Excellency deprived Rámkánta of the management of the Ráj, and made it over to Devíprasád, the son of Vishnurám and the nephew of Rámjíbana. Rámkánta was helpless and solicited the interference of his quondam *Díwán* for the restoration to the Ráj. Dayáram compassionating the condition of Rámkánta, and especially of his wife, Mahárání Bhabání, for whom he had great regard, moved, and with success, the Court of Murshidábád to restore the rightful owner to the *Gadí*. Dayáram returned to the old post of *Díwán* after having taught his young master a lesson which he was not in a hurry to forget.

In 1153, corresponding to 1748, Rámkánta died without male issue, but had given permission to his wife to adopt a son and heir in accordance with the provisions of the Hindu law. The

Ráj came into the possession of his widow the Mahárání Bhabání. She at first made over the management to Raghunáth, her daughter's husband, but he dying in 1158, she resumed it. In 1165, corresponding to 1760, she was deprived of the Ráj through the intrigues of Nandakumár Rái, and it was given to Gauríprasád, son of Devíprasád. Gauríprasád held the Ráj for a few months, and then it was made over to the Mahárání. The Mahárání Bhabání was endowed with a large capacity for business. She thoroughly understood zamíndárí affairs, and the tact and judgment with which she managed the Ráj were most admirable. She wisely availed herself of the experience of Dayáram Rái. Unlike her husband she fully appreciated his rare qualities and was always guided by him in matters of difficulty. She enhanced the profits of several estates and arrested the ruin of others. She was gifted with genius—with the talent of governing and managing men, and her régime was the culminating period of the influence and wealth of the Nátor family. She was a strong-willed and large-brained woman, but she was amenable to the advice of those whom she trusted. She was a proud woman, but her pride was defensive and not aggressive. It was the pride of a princess who could condescend to be familiar with her Amlá and officers, but could when necessary keep them at arm's length. On one occasion when she instituted an enquiry into the validity of the tenures of lákhiráj lands granted to Bráhmans by Rámjibana, she found the Sanads of several either not forthcoming or bearing the signature not of the donor Rámjibana, but of Dayáram Rái. Referring to the latter she said to Dayáram half jestingly and half seriously, that she intended to resume them. Dayáram replied that it was not competent to her to do so, inasmuch as the *Pan Patra* or letter of her betrothal to the late Mahárájá bore his (Dayáram's) signature and not that of Rámjibana. If therefore she disallowed Sanads signed by him, she must also be prepared to repudiate her marriage contract with Rámkánta. The Mahárání smiled, and not only gave up resumption, but under the advice of Dayáram she made an immense number of grants of lákhiráj lands to learned Pandits. Dayáram had thus the satisfaction of being the means of providing for the learned poor of his district.

During the trial of Warren Hastings a member of the House of Lords in his reply to the accusation alluded to the charge of His Excellency having received money from the Mahárání Bhabání and expressed his utter disbelief of the same. His Lordship said, "With respect to the Rání Bhabání, from whom Mr. Hastings is accused of having received the large sum of forty-four thousand pounds sterling, there certainly is not one tittle of evidence to support the charge, nor can I find even

the name of this person mentioned in any part of the evidence."

The Maharání's knowledge of worldly affairs did not prevent her from spending enormous sums of money in the establishment of charities and religious edifices. Her mind was many-sided, and while she transacted business, she could design Atithi-sálás or Asylums for the poor and provide for the support of the same. She established in Benares 380 Asylums, Guest-houses, and Thákur-báris, some of which are richly endowed and are still kept up. She laid out a road surrounding the site of Benares and extending to more than ten miles. It led from Benares proper, under the portals of the temple of Biseswar, and reached Surnáth, the former seat of Buddhism. At Murshidábád she established an idol called Syám Rái and endowed it with a large zamíndárá called Dihí Phulbáriá, now under the management of Rání Sibeswarí Deví. She erected temples and other religious edifices in other districts, and endowed the same with large lands. The seat of the Ráj teems with such edifices. She covered Nátor with temples and minarets, above which towered the Kálí Bári. But "decay's effacing fingers" have been at work. The religious establishments at Benares standing as they do in the name of the *Guru* or spiritual guide of the family are gone to wreck and ruin, because the said *Guru* and his descendants are extinct. Rání Sibeswarí the real *Shabaeth* will do well to apply to the Collector for the restoration of the Debottar properties with a view to their proper management.

The Maharání Bhabání was pious, liberal, and actively benevolent. She was not slow in performing the duties of her station, as she understood them according to the lights of her age and country.

There is an anecdote regarding the family of the Maharání which illustrates the unbridled lust of Nawáb Sarájuddaulá. Her daughter whose husband had been for some time entrusted by her with the management of the Ráj, but who had died a premature death, had left his wife in the fulness of youth and ripeness of beauty. She was in truth a woman of rare and lustrous beauty, and the news of it reached the ears of Sarájuddaulá who longed to have possession of her person. The Maharání was paralysed by astonishment and fear. That the Nawáb, under whose protection she lived, should so far forget himself and the duties of his exalted station, as to be desirous to violate the chastity of the Rájkumárá of the first house in Bengal, a girl who had lost her husband and was according to the *Sástras* doomed to perpetual widowhood indicated in her opinion an absence of all moral obligation and a depth of degradation not easily paralleled. She was

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resolved to rescue this fair young flower. She therefore took her daughter *Tárá* with her and fled from the *Rájbári* to Benares. She left at night in order that her retreat might be covered by the darkness. But *Sarájuddaulá* soon came to grief in his encounter with the English and had to give up his diabolical purpose.

The *Maharání* had the gratification of witnessing the extinction of the Muhammadan Government and the substitution for it of the English Government.

The first notice that we find taken by the English authorities regarding the *Maharání Bhabání* is as follows :—

Mr. Holloway thus speaks of the *Maharání*, "At *Nátor* about ten days travels North-East of Calcutta resides the family of the most ancient and opulent of the Hindu Princes of Bengal. *Rajah Ramkunt* of the race of Brahmins who deceased in the year 1748, and was succeeded by his wife, a Princess named *Bhobanee Ranee*, whose *Dewan* or Minister was *Doyaram* of the *Teely* caste or tribe; they possess a tract of country about thirty-five days' travel and under a settled Government; their stipulated annual rent to the crown was seventy lakhs of *Sicca Rupees*, the real revenues about one *krone* and a half."

Mr. Warren Hastings in his "Memoirs relative to the state of India" mentions that "the *Zamíndárí* of *Rájsháhi*, the second in rank in Bengal and yielding an annual revenue of about twenty-five lakhs of rupees has risen to its present magnitude during the course of the last eighty years by accumulating the property of a great number of dispossessed *Zamíndárs*, although the ancestors of the present possessor had not by inheritance a right to the property of a single village within the whole *zamíndárí*." Mr. Hastings himself did not spare the *Ráj*, as he wrested from *Rání Bhabání* the large estate of *Báharbánd* in *Rangpur* and vested the same in his *Banian Kánta Bábu*.

Before we proceed further with the history of the *Nátor Ráj*, we desire to glance at the status and condition of the old *Zamíndárs* under the Muhammadan régime, as illustrating those of the founder of the said *Ráj* and his immediate successors.

At the time of the Permanent Settlement the Chief of the *Nátor Ráj* exercised civil and criminal powers and was also unmolested in the collection of revenue. On him rested the power of farming the lands, collecting the rents from the villages, and keeping the accounts. He was independent of the interference of the Government in the details of fiscal and criminal administration.

The other large *Zamíndárs* who then practically ruled Bengal were vested with similar powers. It was only when they were

remiss in the payment of the *sadr jama* that officers were deputed to enforce the above payments. The revenues were at first paid by eight and then by twelve instalments. The phrase *Zamíndár* is derived from *Zamín*, signifying land, and from *dár* which is an inflexion of the Persian verb *Dashten* signifying to hold or possess, without reference to time. The phrase *Tálukdár* which in Bengal now means the holder of a *Pattaní* or other subordinate tenure, and in Oudh means a *Zamíndár*, comprised formerly in this Province two classes of land-holders, namely, the *Sanadí* *Tálukdár* and those having none. The former was considered as independent of the *Zamíndár* and paid his revenue direct to the Government, but the latter were generally subordinate to the *Zamíndár*. The import of *Tálukdár* is the holder or possessor of a *Táluk*, the Arabic word signifying attachment and dependence. Mr. C. Wm. Boughton Rouse in his Dissertation on the landed property of Bengal written in 1791, thus describes the manner in which the revenues were paid by *Zamíndárs* and *Tálukdárs*: "It appears upon a reference to all the correspondence of the times, and is universally known, that when the *Díwání* of the three Provinces was ceded to us, the country was distributed amongst the *Zamíndárs* and *Tálukdárs*, who paid a stipulated revenue by twelve instalments to the Sovereign power or its delegates. They assembled at the capital in the beginning of every Bengal year (commencing in April) in order to complete their final payments, and make up their annual accoutts; to settle the discount to be charged upon their several remittances in various coins for the purpose of reducing them to one standard, or adjust their concerns with their Bankers; to petition for remissions on account of storms, drought, inundation, disturbances, and such like; to make their representations of the state and occurrences of their districts: after all which they entered upon the collections of the new year; of which, however, they were not permitted to begin receiving the rents from their own farmers, till they had completely closed the accounts of the preceding year, so that they might not encroach upon the new rents to make up the deficiency of the past."

But whether *Zamíndárs* or *Tálukdárs* they occupied a tenure which was essentially hereditary but modified by the circumstances we have before mentioned. Of this the history of the *Nátor Ráj* affords a signal illustration. Although some members of the family were dispossessed for their mismanagement, and others were vested with the chiefship of the *zamíndarí*, yet the property was never given away to outsiders. Even those tyrants, Jafar Khán, Alívardí, and Kasim Alí, never thought of ousting the *Zamíndárs*. They plundered, fleeced,

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and punished the defaulting *Tálukdárs* and *Zamíndárs* and others guilty of accumulating wealth, yet, as soon as their avarice and rapacity were satisfied, they allowed the old proprietors to resume the management of the *Zamíndáris*. The principle of hereditary descent was thus recognized by the *Subahdárs* of Bengal. The position that we maintained in our paper on the "*Bardwán Ráj*" that the large *Zamíndárs* were not mere rent-collectors or financial officers, but hereditary chiefs and vested with imperial offices, is supported by several authorities since consulted by us. Mr. Rouse after expressing his conviction derived from a searching inquiry "that the state in which we received the rich Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, was a general state of hereditary property," confesses his inability to fix the period when *Zamíndári Sanads* were first issued by the Muhammadan Government. He is, however, inclined to think that they have not been in use much above a hundred years beyond his time, and ascribes their origin to Aurangzeb. He says this Emperor may very probably have judged it expedient, after the suppression of the civil war in Bengal by the final defeat of his brother Sultán Shujá in 1660, and the subjection of the Deccan in 1687, to issue these patents of investiture for the land-holders, who had been faithful to his interest. "It may be presumed, that in general, the former occupants were confirmed in their possession upon a settled tribute; because we do not find, although Aurangzeb was an enthusiast for his own religion, that he made any disposition of the conquered lands amongst his own followers and adherents; but gave them altogether to the Native Hindus." The Sanad usually concluded thus "Let him encourage the body of the ryots in such a manner that signs of an increased cultivation and the improvement of the country may daily appear." It did not, however, prescribe the annual valuation or the enhancement of the revenue.

Mirzá Moshín, an experienced Muhammadan officer during the early English *régime*, thus bears his testimony to the hereditary tenure of *Zamíndárs*. "At present the children of a *Zamíndár* take the land possessed by their fathers and grand-fathers, as an inheritance; it is done upon the strength of the ancient custom and institutions; according to which the *Zamíndári* of the father was transferred by Sanad to the son. If the office of *Zamíndári*, in the nature of other offices, were limited to the life of the incumbents, they would never have exerted themselves to promote the improvement and prosperity of the country. Nor would the population and revenue have been advanced, as they are now from what they were in former times. But when the Emperors thought it politic upon the decease of a *Zamíndár*, to continue the office of *Zamíndári* to his children, the *Zamíndárs* on their part felt a

confidence and satisfaction in discharging the duties of their situation, and always employed their strenuous endeavours to promote the prosperity of their districts." The Zamíndárs, according to the same authority, were invested with three offices; "first, the preservation and defence of their respective boundaries from traitors and insurgents; secondly, the tranquillity of the subjects, the abundance of cultivation, and increase of the revenue; thirdly, the punishment of thieves and robbers, the prevention of crimes, and the destruction of highwaymen." Mr. J. Sullivan in his observations upon the Sarkár of Masulipatam printed in the year 1780, observes that, "at his demise in 1707, the whole country was possessed by the ancestors of the present Zamíndárs;"—an observation that is borne out by the A'íní Akbari which has a distinct column descriptive of the title and religion of Zamíndárs.

It is mentioned in the Fifth Report of the Select Committee that "the Zamíndárs of Bengal were opulent and numerous in the reign of Akbar, and they existed when Jafar Khán was appointed to the administration, under him and his successors their respective territorial jurisdictions appeared to have been greatly augmented, and when the English acquired the Dívání, the principal Zamíndárs exhibited the appearance of opulence and dignity."

Such was the condition of the landed properties of Bengal when the permanent settlement came into operation. How that settlement operated on zamíndáris in general and on the Nátor estate in particular will be presently told.

Mahárájá Rámkrishna, the adopted son of Rámkánta, succeeded his mother the Mahárání on her death. Like his father he was very pious and devoted his whole time to pújás. He did not like his mother combine piety with business, but entirely neglected the latter and was in fact incapable of understanding it. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at, that the decadence of the Ráj and the disintegration of the vast zamíndáris constituting it commenced from his time. His officers, Amlá, and even his menial servants robbed him on every side and accumulated wealth for themselves. Among them Kálísankar Rái, the ancestor of the Naráil family, was the principal. He was regarded as a friend, philosopher, and guide. But he was unfortunately neither a faithful friend, a good philosopher nor an infallible guide. He was on the contrary a principle of evil introduced into the Nátor Ráj for its destruction. He was an individual cloud of gloom hovering on the horizon of Rámkrishna, ultimately to enshroud his estates in darkness and ruin.

The Mahárájá sold to Kálísankar, for a song, the Parganá Kádiháti and also let out to him the rest of Bhushná in *Ijárá*. Being a thoroughly bad manager of Zamíndáris he believed Bhushná would prove profitable under the control of Kálísankar. The *Ijárá* commenced in April 1793, and during the first year the *Ijárá*

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dār enhanced rents from 3,24,000 to 3,48,000. In the second year he demanded Rs. 3,88,000, but his demand although supported by violence and oppression, was resisted by the *rayats*, some of whom instituted suits against the enhancement and obtained decree "authorising them a refund of three times the amount taken." The prestige of Kálísankar was at this time lowered by another circumstance, *viz.*, an accusation of murder preferred against him. He was for four months in jail during the trial but he was afterwards acquitted. The Mahárájá being disappointed in his expectations of profiting by the *zabardast* proceedings of Kálísankar, resorted to another plan to guard against his estate being sold for arrears of revenue. In December 1795, he transferred by *hibánámá* or deed of gift, his right, title and interest in Bhushná, to his minor son Biswanáth. The estate becoming the property of a minor was taken charge of by the Court of Wards. Although the estate was in arrear, yet it was thus saved for a time from the Collector's hammer. The Mahárájá also executed another deed by which he suspended for six months the enforcement of his claim from Kálísankar for Rs. 50,000, being the amount due from him as *Ijrádar*. The object of this document was to give time to Kálísankar and prevent the Court of Wards from demanding that amount. The estate being mismanaged, Mr. Earnest was appointed in May 1797, Commissioner of Bhushná, and was vested with full authority to revise the settlement and make arrangement for the realization of rent. He commenced by announcing his intention to abolish the whole of Kálísankar's second increase of rents and one-half of his first increase. He, however, met with great opposition from the Rayats in and out of Court, but he at last overcame it, and effected the settlement. He fixed the entire revenue at Rs. 3,27,800, assessing the *sadr jama* at Rs. 2,48,118, and awarding a Zamíndárl allowance, provided it could be realised. The Rájumár Biswanáth when he attained his majority, was offered the estate, but he refused to receive it back, because it was a losing concern. But the Court of Wards ruled that the estate was responsible for its revenue whether he took charge of it or not. They therefore proceeded to sell it piecemeal for the recovery of the arrears of revenue.

The following sales in Bhushná were effected in the office of the Collector of Jessor in 1799 :—

<i>Parganá.</i>	<i>Assessed.</i>	<i>Date of sale.</i>	<i>Purchasers.</i>
Hávili	Rs. 36,613	15-2-1799	Rámnáth Rái.
Mukimpur	„ 25,347	25-2-1799	Ditto.
Nasibsháhi	„ 16,937	25-2-1799	Bhairab Náth Rái.
Sátor	„ 39,968	28-2-1799	Sibprasád Rái.
Naldi	„ 66,760	23-3-1799	Bhairab Náth Rái.

Smaller parts were also sold in the same year. The sales took place in Jessor because Bhushná was added to that district in 1798. The other large estates of the Ráj shared the same fate as Bhushná. The largest purchasers of those estates was Kálísankar Rái, the friend and *Ijárdár* of the Mahárájá Rámkrishna. Parganá Pukhariá was purchased by the Chaudhrís of Maimansingh and other parties. Dihí Arpára by Kenáráam Mukharji of Gobarángá, Dihí Kanespur and Dihí Sarúppur by Gopímohan Thákur the ancestor of the Thákur family.

The permanent settlement precipitated the ruin of the Nátor Ráj. Based upon the *Lawázimá papers* of the Zamindári sarishta and the records of the Kánúngos as well as the previous periodical settlements, it assumed a rental in excess of the reality. It formed an exaggerated estimate of the resources of zamindáris and assessed them at a rate far beyond their power. The estimate of the local officer or rather of the Sarishtadár was generally sanctioned by the Sadr Board and the Government, the former seldom making an enquiry.

It is mentioned in the Fifth Report of the Select Committee—that “they (the Court of Direction) censured the ineffectual attempts that had been made to increase the assessment of revenue, whereby the Zamindárs (or hereditary superintendents of the land) had been taxed to make room for the introduction of farmers, sazawuls and ámins who having no permanent interest in the lands had drained the country of its resources. They disapproved the rule, recently established, which prohibited the Collector from having any concern in the formation of the settlement of his district; and noticed the heavy arrears outstanding on the settlement of the last four years, which had been formed under the immediate direction of the Committee of Revenue; and expressed their opinion, that the most likely means of avoiding such defalcations in future, would be by introducing a permanent settlement of a revenue estimated in its amount on reasonable principles, for the due payments of which the hereditary tenure of the possessor would be the best and in general the only necessary security. They therefore directed that the settlement should be made in all practicable instances with the Zamindár; and that in cases of his established incapacity for the trust, a preference should be given to a relation or agent over a farmer. They apprehended the design of the legislature was to declare general principles of conduct; and not to introduce any novel system, or to destroy those rules and maxims of policy which prevailed in well regulated periods of the Native Government. With respect to the amount of the assessment, the Directors were of opinion, that the information already obtained might be sufficient to enable their Government in Bengal to fix it, without having

recourse to minute local scrutinies; and they suggested the average of former years' collections to be the guide on the present occasion; and on this point concluded their instructions with remarking that "a moderate jama or assessment, regularly and punctually collected, unites the consideration of our interest with the happiness of the natives and security of the land-holders, more rationally than any imperfect collection of an exaggerated jama to be enforced with severity and vexation."

Though the permanent settlement has been declared to be the *Magna Charta* of the Zamíndárs, yet it did not in the beginning prove to them such an unmitigated blessing as is generally supposed. The assessment of several of the large estates, and notably of the Nátor Ráj, was excessive as shown by the settlement given by Mr. Westland in his report on Jessor. Yusafpur was settled at Rs. 3,02,372, that is, about Rs. 5,000 more than the demand of the previous year (taking sáyer deductions into account); the Sayyidpur estate was made to pay Rs. 90,583 or Rs. 2,000 more than the previous year. The natural and inevitable result of the settlement was the inability of the Zamíndárs to meet the increased Government demand and their impoverishment. It is no wonder that the administration of Rámkrishna is a blurred record of arrears of revenue, of sale of estates, of decadence and ruin.

There is no doubt that the permanent settlement has improved the old Rájás and Zamíndárs off the face of the land and has substituted in their stead a different class of men,—men of active business habits who have risen in life from small beginnings—men who have been Sadrmates and Banians—Dealers in shares and Government Securities—men who are desirous of exchanging their funded wealth for the profit and prestige arising from the possession of landed wealth.

Mr. George Dallas was one of the earliest Collectors of Rájsháhi, but he tendered his resignation in the beginning of the year 1786. On the 19th January of that year, his resignation was accepted, and Mr. P. Speke was appointed Collector in his stead. On the 4th February 1786, Mr. Speke took over charge of the collections of the districts as also the balance of cash in the Treasury, amounting to Sic. Rs. 89,028-8.

Mr. Henckell was appointed Collector, Judge and Magistrate of Nátor in 1789. It was during his time that the permanent settlement came into operation. He was a very intelligent and clear-headed officer and completed the settlement to the satisfaction of the Government, but he was not satisfied himself, inasmuch as he knew that the information at his disposal was scanty. He was the innocent cause of the down-fall of the house of Nátor. With the ablest management the Mahárájá Rámkrishna could not have paid the amount of revenue at which he was assessed

under the permanent settlement, but being a wretched manager he could only wait patiently and passively witness his ruin.

During the time the chiefs of Nátor exercised criminal powers, crime was considerably repressed. Regulations and Acts, Penal Codes and Procedures there were none, and if they had existed, they would have been ignored and over-ridden. What was wanted and what was administered was sharp and summary justice. The remains of a jail and the spot where the gibbet had stood attest the activity as well as severity with which the criminal authority of the Rájás of Nátor was exercised. But during the English *régime* all this was changed. The Rájás were deprived of the powers of magistrate, and a single officer was appointed as Magistrate, Judge and Collector of Nátor. The consequence was that he had more to do than he could perform. As a Magistrate he had to deal summarily with petty offences and commit the grave ones such as burglary, dacoity, and murder for trial to the Court of Circuit. As a Collector he had to look to the collection and administration of revenue. As a Judge he was the head of the Judicial Department and had to revise and overlook the decisions of the Munsifs or Commissioners as they were then called. Being overwhelmed with these multifarious avocations and ignorant of the language and customs of the country, he was both unable and incompetent to hunt out crime.

In the time of Mahárájá Rámkrishna crime was very rife, there was little or no security of life and property: Thefts, burglary, and dacoity were very prevalent. Among the dacoits Panditá, Kártiká and Fathu may be mentioned as the principal; Jitu was another sardár dacoit and murderer. The connivance and collusion of the Police, and the assistance and protection afforded by the Náibs and Gumáshtás of the Zamindárs enabled the dacoits to pursue their nefarious avocations with impunity. Not only the zamindári Amlá but several petty land-holders were *Thangidárs* or receivers of stolen property; and as they were in the habit of melting down gold and silver ornaments as soon as they came into possession of the same, it was difficult to indentify the articles. Several families in Sulop and other villages in Rájsháhi accumulated wealth by Thangidári. The ignorance and the negligence of the Magistrate as well as his utter want of experience of the manners and customs of the people, was another cause of the security enjoyed by the dacoits and murderers. The Sarishtadár was often *the de facto* Magistrate, and his master was a tool in his hands. He could not only "decree and dismiss" in civil cases, but acquit prisoners charged with the gravest offence. Of the power and influence of the Sarishtadár to suppress complaints and prevent their being brought to a decision, the following instance is given by Mr. E. Strachey, the third Judge of the Calcutta Court of Circuit.

It appears that the Sarishtadár and one Rahímuddín monopolised all magisterial power and sheltered several sardár dacoits who were their rayats. Referring to these two men, Mr. Strachey says "I mention this, to introduce a more daring instance of their interference, which, with the facts of their mufassal connection with dacoits, leaves no doubt in my mind that these two men are the chief causes of the dacoity here, and the chief obstacles to its suppression. Anup Munshí, who is not friendly to Rahímuddín, or the Sarishtadár, seized Atá, a notorious dacoit of Panditá's gang, an inhabitant of Sonádighí, which belongs to the Sarishtadár and Rahímuddín, and appears to be a nest of dacoits. Atá confessed to the Dárogá, three dacoities, two of them attended with burning; and he was sent to the Magistrate, who took evidence of his confession, and instead of committing the prisoner, as he usually does in such cases, ordered the proceedings to be kept with those of Jhámprá and others. The Magistrate does not know why they were joined with Jhámprá's; probably it was, because Atá was of the same gang as Jhámprá; this happened in February. Among the proceedings held in April in the case of Fathu and others, notorious dacoits, it is said in the examination of some of the witnesses, 'the witness then looking at Atá, who was apprehended on another charge, said this Atá is a notorious dacoit.' In fact there was no charge against Atá that had been joined with Jhámprá's case, and the Magistrate can give no account of the introduction of Atá among the prisoners in Fathu's."

"On the 2nd of May, without any further evidence for or against Atá is an order on Jhámprá's case, in the record of which was the confession of Atá, stating that there was nothing proved against Atá, but that as there was another charge against him, he must not be released till that should be decided. On the 4th of May the case of Fathu was brought on, and among the prisoners was Atá, placed there, I suppose by a trick of the Amlá that he might be regularly discharged; for there was nothing against him—then order was passed for the commitment of Fathu and others, and for the release of the other prisoners; so Atá escaped."

The same officer thus reports to the Sadr Court the prevalence of crime in Rájsháhi.

1. "It is with much diffidence that I address the Nizámat Adálat on the present occasion for I have to propose measures, the nature of which they are, I know, generally averse to."

2. "As the Nizámat Adálat, the Government, and the people of the country look to the Judges of Circuit, as well as to the Magistrates, for the establishment of an efficient Police, I consider it to be my duty to call the attention of the superior court to this subject."

3. "I do not wait till the end of the circuit, when, in the course of official routine, I should have to make a report to the court; because the evil which I complain of is great and increasing, and every instant of delay serves only to furnish new victims to the atrocities which are daily practised."

4. "That dacoity is very prevalent in Rájsháhi, has been often stated; but if its vast extent were known, if the scenes of horror, the murders, the burnings, the excessive cruelties, which are continually perpetrated here were properly represented to Government, I am confident that some measures would be adopted to remedy the evil; certainly there is not an individual belonging to the Government who does not anxiously wish to save the people from robbery and massacre, yet the situation of the people is not sufficiently attended to. It cannot be denied that, in point of fact, there is no protection for persons or property; and that the present wretched, mechanical, inefficient system of Police is a mere mockery."

5. "The dacoits know much better than we how to preserve their power; they have with great success established a respect for their order, by speedy, certain and severe punishments, and by judicious arrangements for removing obstacles and for facilitating the execution of their plans."

6. "Such is the state of things which prevails in most of the Zilas in Bengal; but in this, it is much worse than in any other I have seen. I am fully persuaded that no civilised country ever had so bad a Police, as that which Rájsháhi has at present."

This report is dated Nátor, 13th June 1808, and addressed to Mr. William Butterworth Bayley, the then registrar of the Sadr Court.

In another report dated Murshidábád, Zila Rájsháhi, 19th August 1808, Mr. Strachey thus describes the organisation of a band of dacoits. "What does a gang of dacoits consist of? There is the Sardár; the leader of the party when he is present, and their director when he is absent. He is a professed robber and murderer. He is not only the conductor of the atrocities that are committed, but he is the point of union of many inferior criminals. He finds recruits for his party not only by accepting the services of wretches like himself, but he has recourse to persuasion, to force and to terror: some of his party are pressed to carry bundles or torches; some are severely beat; some threatened with death; some with dacoity, if they refuse to join. Many thus initiated against their inclination, are gradually corrupted, till the greatest crimes are familiar to them, and they become at last hardened dacoits. A gang of dacoits, then, does not consist entirely of professed robbers; many of the party are poor, honest industrious people who are seized for the service of the night; some assist

willingly but not actively; and some are regularly established robbers. Is it right that so heterogeneous a set as this would be jumbled together, and be all liable to the same punishment? It is the duty of the legislature to protect those ignorant and helpless creatures, who cannot protect themselves:—one part of the system should not denounce against an unfortunate wretch, death or other exceedingly severe punishment for a crime, which owing to the defects of another part of the system he is compelled to commit. If you refuse him protection, and leave him to the uncontrolled power of robbers and murderers will you inflict severe punishment on him, after the offence has been forced upon him? If you could not check that power, how could he resist it? But the duty of the legislator is not confined to this coarser sort of protection, he must consider that this is a weak and ignorant race, and it is a duty to save them from temptation, to prevent corruption from spreading around them; and if this duty is neglected and crimes are generated in consequence, with what justice can the criminal be punished?"

We thus see that those whose duty it was to put down crime encouraged it by every means in their power for their lawless gain. We see corruption pervading every grade of the Police establishment: the *Dáro-gás*, the *Jamadárs*, the *Muharrirs*, the *Barkandázes* and the *Chaukidárs*. We see the Magistrate was overwhelmed with work. The consequence was, the people preferred quiet submission to extortion and robbery as a lesser evil than the operation of the Police. The union of the offices of Magistrate and Collector in the same person operated most prejudicially in the performance of the Police duty. Referring to this evil, *Bábu Dwáráká-náth Thákur* in his evidence before the Police Committee says, "the first and principal Judges of the *Mufassal Courts* are the *Amlá*, who lead the inexperienced Judges as they pleased." Mr. W. P. Grant observes: "We hear a great deal of the excellence of the East India Company's Government, and the improvement which has taken place in the country since it has been under them. I firmly believe that their Government continued to exist only because it is better than that of the *Mughul* was, and with the exception of the Government of the *Mughul*, I think the Company's Government the worst I ever knew."

With a view to put down dacoity, Mr. Strachey recommends that while the leaders of the gang should be severely dealt with, their followers should not be punished indiscriminately, but that preventive and not punitive measures should be resorted to in respect to them. He also recommends that criminal Judges should be appointed from no other consideration than that of the fitness of the man for the place. *

Among the officers who served with distinction in *Nátor* as

Judges and Magistrates may be mentioned James Pattle, James Grant and Mr. Duncan Campbell.

In those happy-go-lucky days, when the Amlá exercised irresponsible power, the following characteristic example will be interesting. Muhammad Zamán Khán, originally an inhabitant of Bardwán, was the Názir of the Fauzdári Court and in that capacity accumulated large wealth and bequeathed it to his son Chaudhrí Dost Muhammad Khán, who set himself up as an independent gentleman and bought several Zamindáris. He however bore his faculties very meekly and was a very courteous and gentlemanly person. His eldest son Muhammad Alí Khán was learned in the Kurán, and was a pious and abstemious person. His son Rashid Miyán now represents the family.

On the 6th March 1793, Mr. J. H. Harington, the Commissioner of the Rájsháhi Division, being unable to realise from Mahárájá Rámkrishna the revenue due from him had him confined in a suitable place "under the guard of Sepoys instructed to treat him with all due regard to his situation as well as to allow free access to his officers and servants." The Commissioner vested the temporary charge of his estate in Rámjímál as Sarbaráhkár on his part during his imprisonment. The aggregate sum due from the Mahárájá after deducting the payments already made by him, was Sa. Rs. 2,68,842-15-14, (*viz.*, Rs. 1,70,335, account Nij Rájsháhi, and Rs. 98,507-15-14, account Bhitariá, Bhushná and the Bogá Mahals). The Commissioner having reported the above circumstance to the Board, the latter wrote back as follows:—"We approve your having put the Rájá in confinement conformably to the Regulations and of your having vested the management of his estate in Rámjímál, to whom you will afford every necessary assistance to secure the realization of the sums now remaining outstanding." But on the 15th March 1793, the Governor-General gave the Mahárájá further time for the payment of the Government demand, and authorised the Commissioner to release him "in the event of his executing an engagement to pay the balance of this *kist*." On the 18th March the Mahárájá executed the engagement and was released. But being unable to fulfill his engagement in due date, a portion of his estate was sold, pursuant to previous advertisement. Thus commenced the dismemberment of the Nátor Ráj. The estates first sold were the following:—Parganá Patládah, Parganá Ambárá, Kismat, Parganá Kotwáli, Chaughariá Mánikdi.

The Mahárájá being convinced of the necessity of letting out his estates at a fixed jama in perpetuity as the only means of paying off the Government demand, applied to the authorities for their sanction, but it was withheld "as coming under the prohibition against Istimráris." There being then neither per-

manent settlement nor Pattanī tenure, the Board expressed the following opinion regarding the application of the Mahārājā :—
 “ If, however, it be only his intention to grant leases, fixing the rent for the period of his own engagement with the Government, he is of course at liberty to do so, but with regard to your affixing your signature to any engagement between the Zamindār and his under renters, we are of opinion that it is liable to objection.”

In 1822 the Zila or the fiscal, criminal and chief judicial courts were removed from Nátor to Rámpur Boáliyá owing to the low and unhealthy situation of the former. The Judges of the Provincial Court of Appeal and Circuit for the Division of Murshidábád, under orders of the Government of Bengal, called upon Mr. J. A. Pringle, the Judge and Magistrate of Rájsháhi, to report upon a new site where the civil station may be removed from Nátor. Mr. Pringle in his report, dated 23rd April 1822, stated that he had examined the ground in the vicinity of Nawábganj and Boaliyá, and believed it to be a central spot, a populous place and well adapted for the civil station. On this the Provincial Court, wrote to Mr. Secretary Holt Mackenzie, “ that in our opinion there is land in the vicinity of Boáliyá calculated for the erection of the civil buildings of Rájsháhi.” The proposition of the Provincial Court having received the sanction of the Government, the civil station was removed to Rámpur Boáliyá. But the Padmá has recently swept away most of the civil buildings, and the civil station has been further removed to the vicinity of Nawábganj.

Of the Magistrates who sat on the Bench at Rámpur Boáliyá, the following gentlemen may be mentioned as having displayed conspicuous ability and zeal : Mr. Vibart, Mr. F. J. Halliday, Mr. Loch and Mr. Swinton. Mr. Vibart was an energetic detective officer. Mr. Halliday was a very clever officer, conducting the duties alternately of the Collector and the Magistrate. While he sat as a Collector he spoke Bengali fluently, but as Magistrate he spoke Urdu. Mr. Loch, now a Judge of the High Court, was also an able officer. He was succeeded by Mr. A. A. Swinton, who was a zealous and conscientious officer and threw his whole heart into his work. After the separation of the offices of Magistrate and Collector, Mr. A. Forbes proved one of the ablest Collectors, and his reports on *Batwára* and other subjects evinced a thorough knowledge of the revenue administration. Among the Judges Mr. G. C. Cheap may be considered one of the cleverest and most experienced officers. He presided over the Judicial Department for many years and was the Nestor of the District. He was the son of the Mr. Cheap who was the Commercial Resident of the Hon'ble East India Company and resided at Súrul in Bírphúm. Mr. Cheap was very hos-

pitable and a hail-fellow-well-met with both officials and non-officials.

Biswanáth the quondam proprietor of Bhushuá succeeded his father Rámkrishna. But his inheritance which at one time comprised the most magnificent estate in Bengal, now consisted of only *debottar* lands. The most remarkable act of his life was his change from one phase of Hindu religion to another. His ancestors had been *Sáktas*, and he himself had been a confirmed worshipper of *Sákti*, but he became a *Vaishnava*.

Biswanáth had three wives, namely, Rání Krishnamani, Rání Govindamani, and Rání Jaymani. The two former following the example of their husband, renounced *Sáktaism* and embraced *Vaishnavism*. But Rání Jaymani refused to secede from *Sáktaism* and migrated to Murshidábád where she settled. Biswanáth died without male issue, but in accordance with the *Anumati patra* or deed of permission, Rání Krishnamani adopted a son named Govinda Chandra. Rání Jaymani also adopted a son.

Govinda Chandra succeeded his father Biswanáth, but he lived only a few years. During his last illness he executed two deeds, namely, *Dattak patra* authorizing his wife to adopt a son, and *Katritta patra* in favour of his mother Rání Krishnamani, vesting in her the management of the estate.

On the death of her son Govinda Chandra, Rání Krishnamani assumed the management of the estate. She was a very able woman and evinced great capacity for business. Her efforts to rescue the residue of the estate from being swallowed up by litigation and rival claims were unceasing and at last crowned with success. Govinda Chandra was succeeded by his adopted son Govindanáth. The validity of the adoption of Govindanáth by Rání Shibeswarí being contested during the life time of Rání Krishnamani, the case was first heard in the Court of Rájsháhi, and the Presiding Judge Mr. Louis Jackson pronounced against the adoption. But the High Court reversed the judgment of the lower tribunal and held the adoption to be valid. The Privy Council have just confirmed the decision of the High Court. But Rání Krishnamani and Govindanáth had died when the decision of the Privy Council was telegraphed. The one could not witness the success of her exertions, nor the other enjoy the fruits of the property adjudicated to him after such a protracted litigation.

The judgment of the High Court was affirmed by the Privy Council on the 8th June 1872. The case for the Bara Taraf is thus described by the Privy Council:—

“It appears that Govinda Chandra died in 1836, having the Ráj in full right and possession.

“He died leaving his mother Krishnamani, his wife, who was

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then about the age of 20, and an infant daughter about two years old, and it is material to bear in mind this state of his family in weighing the presumptions which arise from the subsequent conduct of the parties.

"The Rájá Govinda Chandra had himself been adopted into this family by Krishnamani in the year 1814, and he came of age in 1829. During his minority Krishnamani managed the property, and there were disputes between the Rájá and his adoptive mother which when he came of age, led to what has been called by the learned counsel for the appellant 'exasperated litigation.' There can be no doubt that there was fierce litigation between the mother and the adopted son. In that litigation insults were heaped by one upon the other, and the fair result of the evidence seems to be that they continued for a considerable time in a state of hostility. From conversation held with the Rájá himself, it appeared that only a short time before his death he was not on visiting terms with his mother. She had left the palace at Nátor and had gone to live at Sayyidábád on the other side of the Ganges. But although that state of hostility between mother and son is proved beyond all dispute by the evidence, it is also proved and, with equal certainty to the minds of their Lordships, that on the eve of his death the Rájá became sincerely desirous of seeing his mother and becoming reconciled with her. He was taken ill some few days before the 9th of December. On the 9th of December, or, as one witness says, on the day before the 9th, he was told that his illness was serious, and on the morning of the 9th, when several family physicians were present, when one of his relatives, Hariprasád, the father of his young wife was also present, the evidence is that the deeds which are now in dispute were executed, attested one by nine and the other by eleven witnesses, and the deed of adoption (Anumati patra) given by the Rájá to Hariprasád, who at once delivered it to his daughter, the Rájá's wife, who was behind the screen in the same room. The other deed the Rájá put in his seal box, intending himself to take it to his mother.

"Their Lordships having given very careful consideration to the evidence in this case, have come to the conclusion that the judgment of the High Court is perfectly right; that there is direct evidence of the execution of the instruments, which is, if not so clear as to remove all doubt, at least so satisfactory that in the absence of contrary evidence or very strong presumptions to the contrary it ought to prevail. Their Lordships also think that whilst the direct evidence is satisfactory, the presumptions which exist on the one side and on the other, when they come to be weighed, very strongly preponderate in favour of the execution of these deeds.

"Several witnesses have been called who were present when these deeds were executed, and in considering the witnesses who were called, and the absence of witnesses, the length of time which had elapsed from the period when the deeds were executed to the time of the enquiry must be borne in mind. The deeds were executed in December 1836; and these witnesses were examined before Mr. Jackson in 1860, 25 years after the event.

"The Privy Council thus concludes that the judgment of the High Court on the question of succession is right; that decision will dispose of the two appeals of Rájá Chandra Náth Rái. They will therefore advise Her Majesty to dismiss those appeals with costs, they will only advise Her Majesty wholly to affirm the decree of the High Court made on appeal in the suit originally brought by Ananda Náth, No. 28 of 1861, and also to affirm the decree of the High Court made on appeal in the suit originally constituted by Krishnamani Deví against the Collector of Murshidábád, and others in 1849, in which Ananda Náth Rái intervened so far as the question of succession is concerned."

Govindanáth was one of nature's noblemen. He was instinctively polite and invariably attentive to the wants and wishes of others, he was respected and loved by those who came into intimate and familiar contact with him. But unfortunately he died a premature death. Both before and since his demise his mother Rání Sibeswari has assumed the management of the estate. Like her mother-in-law Rání Krishnamani, she has shown an aptitude for business. She has been indefatigable in saving the zamindáris and enhancing their profits.

It may be here noticed as the great peculiarity of the Nátor family that the women have been immeasurably superior to the men. While the male members have been mediocrities, the female members have been celebrities. The Mahárání Bhabání was an extraordinary woman and exhibited business talent of the highest order. She occupied a proud and prominent position among her contemporaries. Rání Krishnamani was endowed with more than average capacity, and her efforts as well as those of Rání Sibeswari, for the salvation of the estate, evinced rare capacity and unflagging energy.

During the time of Biswanáth, the Nátor family was divided into two branches, *viz.*, the senior and the junior, or the Bara Taraf and Chhota Taraf. Sibnáth, younger brother of Biswanáth, represented the Chhota Taraf. His son, the late Rájá Ananda Náth Rái, was a sharp and shrewd man and won his way to rank and distinction. He was orthodox and conservative, and at first was wedded to old world prejudices and generally opposed to reforms. He did his best in rendering ineffectual the efforts of the Deputy Magistrate for the introduction of the first Municipal Act,

and generally was antagonistic to reformatory movements, but he subsequently rose above the prejudices of his nursery and inaugurated several undertakings, aiming at the good of the public. At Rámpur Boáliyá he erected at a cost of Rs. 10,000 a building for a Library and supplied the books at his own expense. The Library is called after his name. He received from the Government the title of Rájá Bahádur and was also made a C.S.I.

Rájá Ananda Náth died in 1866, leaving four sons; the eldest son, Chandranáth, was two years ago invested with the title of "Rájá Bahádur," and has just been appointed an *Attaché* of the Foreign Office of the Government of India. It is to be hoped that he will in this capacity open a new path of distinction for himself and for his countrymen.

We shall now carry our readers to the Dighápatíá Ráj, the history of which is interwoven with that of the Nátor Ráj. We have already seen the founner of it Dayáram Rái, proving the good genius of the early chiefs of Nátor and the salvation of the Nátor estate. We have seen him winning the favour of the Nawáb by the courage, activity, and fidelity with which he executed the commissions entrusted to him and receiving from His Excellency the title of *Rái Ráyán*. We have seen him the chief mover and main spring of the charities of the Nátor family. After his retirement from the service he established several charities in his own estates. In those days the acquisition of the English language and English literature was not as now the passport to wealth and distinction. The Bengali language had not been enriched and it was not thought worth while to cultivate it. The cultivation of the Sanskrit language was then the one thing needful for scholars and gentlemen, and the Rájás and Chiefs of the country thought it their duty to encourage it. Accordingly Dayáram established several *Chatushpáthís* in Rájsháhi. He founded several religious establishments, namely, the idol Krishna Chandra at Muhammadpur in Jessor, another named Gopál Deb at Binadin in Murshidábád; he also founded in his Rájbarí at Dighápatíá three separate idols, namely, Krishnají, Govindjí, and Gopál. He endowed these establishments with lands. He did his best in supplying the poor with water. He excavated a large Díghí at Gorphu and another at Háguria. He excavated several tanks in his zamíndáris and also a Chaukí or moat around his Rájbarí.

Dayáram was an uncommon man and stood out from the mass of his countrymen as a leader and a guide. He was an illustration of what Goethe says, "we will not say that man is the creature of circumstance; it would be nearer the mark to say man is the architect of circumstances. Our strength is measured by our plastic power. From the same materials one man builds

palaces, another hovels, one ware-houses, another villas ; bricks and mortar are bricks and mortar until the architect makes them something else."

The estates Dayáram acquired were as follows :—1.—Taraf Nandkujá in Parganá Bháturiá. 2.—Taraf Dumrái, including Nakhilá situated partly in Bagurá and partly in Maimansingh. 3.—Taraf Maul Kalná and Taraf Bharsut situated in Zila Jessor. 4.—Taraf Salímpur situated in Zila Nadiyá. Taraf Dumrai is unquestionably the most profitable property of the family ; when it was first let out in *ijará* to Mr. John C. Abbot, it only yielded Rs. 35,000, but thanks to his good management, the accretion of the river and increased cultivation, it now yields Rs. 1,75,000 per annum.

Dayáram Rái died, leaving six children, namely, one son and five daughters ; the son Jagannáth Rái succeeded his father but he died a premature death. He had sixteen children, but fifteen of them died successively. The surviving son Pránuáth Rái succeeded his father. He was a very charitable person and celebrated his mother's *Sráddha* with great *éclat*. He was succeeded by his adopted son Prasannanáth Rái who infused new blood into the family and proved an extraordinary man, achieving for himself the most conspicuous position among the contemporaneous Zamíndárs and Rájás, and standing out from them as a singularly liberal and benevolent representative of the Nobility of Bengal. He was educated in the Zila School at Rámpur Boáliyá, but did not remain long to acquire a mastery of the English language. But nature supplied him with what he lacked in school learning. He was endowed with a strong common sense and an intimate knowledge of human nature. He could thoroughly appreciate the merits and demerits of those with whom he was brought into intimate and familiar contact. After leaving school he fell into a bad set of Europeans, who tried to tempt him to sensual indulgences and fleece him, but he soon shook off their influence and learned to think and judge for himself. He at last stumbled into the right path and found for himself a field for active usefulness.

At about this time the Sub-divisional system having come into operation, Government determined on establishing a sub-division at Nátor the former sadr station of Rájsháhi, as it continued to be the seat of the nobility and gentry of the district. Owing to the removal of the civil station, the Jail, the Kachhárís, and the dwelling houses of the Officers were left to decay and were in a state of complete dilapidation, when a sub-division was established in Nátor. At first Mr. Elphinstone Jackson was deputed to Nátor, but he did not like the place and stopped there a few days only. In 1848, a Hindu gentleman who had served as an Assistant Magistrate for two years in Rámpur Boáliyá, was appointed Deputy Magistrate of Nátor, and vested with the full powers of a

Magistrate. He organized the sub-division, comprising the most populous and important portion of Rájsháhi. In the Schools, Dispensaries, Horticultural Exhibitions and other Institutions established by him at Nátor, he received valuable assistance from Planters and Zamíndárs, and especially from the late Prasannanáth Rái, the richest as well as the most benevolent individual in the district.* The Commissioner, the Judge, the Magistrate and the Civil Surgeon heartily supported him in his efforts to ameliorate the condition of the people, and frequently visited him in his station.

The Deputy Magistrate submitted to the Ferry Fund Committee of Rájsháhi a proposal for making a carriage road from Dighápatíá to Boáliyá, and laid before them an approximate estimate of the cost. While the proposition was under consideration Prasannanáth Rái came forward with an offer to the Deputy Magistrate for defraying the entire expenses of the road.

TO THE DEPUTY MAGISTRATE OF NA'TOR,

Beaulia.

SIR,

Being deeply impressed with the conviction that a good road from Diggaputia to Beaulia, would prove a great boon to the district, and understanding that the local subscriptions and the sum of Rs. 7,000 sanctioned by the Government for the repair of the road and the erection of the bridges will be inadequate for the proposal, I therefore request the favour of your communicating to the Ferry Fund Committee, my offer to pay the whole expenses for the road and bridges.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

DIGGAPUTIA ; }
The 25th June 1850. }

Your most obedient Servant,
(Sd.) PROSONONAUTH ROY.

The offer was thankfully accepted and the amount paid by the public-spirited Zamíndár was Rs. 35,000. The road was first extended from Boáliyá to Nátor, but has since been further extended to Dighápatíá, a distance of three miles.

The time has now arrived for taking an educational survey of Rájsháhi.

* When the Office of Deputy Magistrate was first created, a superior class of young men was appointed to it. They were picked persons of birth and education, cadets of leading families and distinguished alumni of the Hindu College who made their stations the centres of new life and light. This class was afterwards

supplemented by an admixture of Sarishtadárs and Peshkárs, Dárogas and Muharrirs, *et hoc genus omne*. The reason of the appointment of the latter persons was their local experience ; but the efficiency and respectability of the Uncovenanted Civil Service has much suffered.

In 1835 Lord William Bentinck appointed Mr. William Adam, as Government Commissioner to conduct enquiries into the state of native education, regarding them to be the first step "to know with all attainable accuracy the present state of instruction in the native institutions and native society." Mr. Adam was eminently qualified for the task. Deeming it impracticable to traverse the entire surface of every district, and personally to inspect the state of education in every tháná and village, he restricted his personal enquiries to a thorough examination of the state of education in one of the principal thánás or country towns of each district, which might be accepted as a fair sample of the whole, taking care at the same time, to ascertain the state of education generally in the other thánás and towns. In accordance with this plan, he conducted his enquiries in six districts, and in one city, namely, that of Murshidábád. His returns are the most reliable of the kind hitherto obtained in this country, and comprise a mass of valuable information illustrative of the moral and intellectual condition of the people. Nátor, formerly the capital or sadr station of Rájsháhi, and now the most important subdivision of that district, was selected by Mr. Adam for the commencement of his educational survey. Now, as we have had ample opportunities of ascertaining the educational condition of the people, we are well able to appreciate the fidelity of the picture of literary destitution presented by him. He says that the "Bengali Schools in Nátor are ten in number, containing 167 scholars, who enter school at an age varying from five to ten years, and leave it at an age varying from ten to sixteen. The teachers consist both of young and middle-aged men, for the most part simple-minded, but poor and ignorant, and therefore having recourse to an occupation which is suitable both to their expectations and attainments, and on which they reflect as little honour as they derive emolument from it." There were those who believed that Mr. Adam erred in one important detail, namely, the comparative numbers of the Hindu and Muhammadan population. But the late census corroborates the calculations of the educational Commissioner. It shows that the Muhammadans of Rájsháhi exceed a million, while the Hindus are less than two hundred and ninety thousand. The proportion is almost that of four to one in favour of Muhammadans. We entirely agree with him in thinking that the proportion of Muhammadan to Hindu children receiving instruction is less than one to four. In most of the districts of Bengal, we have found a similar disproportion to prevail; and it may be sufficiently accounted for by the fact that the Muhammadans constitute the bulk of the rayats, coolies, and Jáliyás, who are unable from their condition in life to secure

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for themselves or their children any education however rudimentary.

Mr. Adam thus impressively sums up the results of his enquiries at Nátor :—"The conclusions to which I have come on the state of ignorance, both of the male and female, the adult and the juvenile population of this district, require only to be distinctly apprehended in order to impress the mind with their importance. No declamation is required for that purpose. We cannot, however, expect that the reading of the report should convey the impressions which we have received from daily witnessing the mere animal life to which ignorance consigns its victims, unconscious of any wants or enjoyments beyond those which they participate with the beasts of the field, unconscious of any of the higher purposes for which existence has been bestowed,—society has been constituted and government is exercised. We are not acquainted with any facts which permit us to suppose that in any other country subject to an enlightened Government, and brought into direct and immediate contact with European civilisation, in an equal population there is an equal amount of ignorance with that which has been shown to exist in this district." And Rájsháhi was not a backward or an exceptionally illiterate district. It was and is occupied by an industrious and intelligent population ; it boasts of several influential Rájás and large Zamíndárs, and is the seat of an extensive trade in silk and cereals. In 1835 when Mr. Adam visited the district, there was no well-organised English school.

The Rájsháhi of Mr. Adam is only an average specimen of all the districts of Bengal. Similar enquiries in the other localities selected by him led to nearly similar results exhibiting a vast and nearly illimitable intellectual waste.

It thus appears that the aggregate average under instruction of the teachable population of the districts is only $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., thus leaving $92\frac{1}{4}$ out of every 100 children destitute of any instruction whatever. Our readers can now realise the enormous amount of educational destitution of Bengal 32 years ago. It is not to be wondered at that, while ignorance was so extensive, organised crime should have prevailed so universally, and Government should have been unable to reckon with confidence on the support of the community. Knowledge is not only power *but* is a source of safety to the State, while ignorance is a source of weakness and danger to it. Of this truth, the sepoy insurrection affords a striking illustration. The moral and intellectual enlightenment of the people of this country cannot be effected without additional security being thereby given against delusions such as those which shook in 1857 the empire to its foundation. It has been so ordained by the Almighty and Beneficent Author of our being that the development of the mental faculties with which he has endowed us cannot be effected

without dispersing those prejudices and errors which menace the peace of society as well as of individuals.

Soon after this investigation a zila school was established and placed in charge of Bábu Sáradáprasád Bose, who proved an able and successful head-master. The school has produced several excellent and successful young men, of whom Bábu Kunjalál Bánarji, the Judge of the Small Cause Court of Calcutta, Bábu Siba Prasád Sannyál, a Deputy Magistrate of 24-Parganás, and Bábu Rudrakánta Láhuri, the late Diwán of the Digbhápatíá Ráj, may be mentioned. In 1847, Bábu Loknáth Maitri founded an Anglo-Vernacular school at Boáliyá. In 1851, a school was established at Nátor by the Deputy Magistrate of that sub-division. It was afterwards amalgamated with the Prasanna Náth Academy, which was inaugurated on the 24th January 1852. There was a large gathering of the European and Native gentry of the district on the occasion. The Deputy Magistrate having been voted to the chair rose and said, "Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have done me in voting me to the chair, and though I could wish you had selected an abler person to fill it, yet I must not shrink from the duty you have imposed on me. I welcome you, gentlemen, a right hearty welcome, to this hall in the name of the enlightened proprietor of the institution, whose inauguration we are assembled to celebrate in the name of the pupils who have this day been admitted there, and in the name of the great cause of education. I conceive it is the duty of every person interested in the welfare of the country, especially of every Native, to endeavour his best to promote that cause. The happiness and prosperity of the people are intimately connected with it. I do not pretend to believe that education is the *panacea* for all the evils with which they are afflicted, for the disease of India is a complicated disease, and requires both moral and physical remedies. I know also that climate and centuries of Muhammadan oppression have largely contributed to produce her degradation, but I am strongly persuaded that ignorance and superstition have had more to do with it than anything else. Why is it that the people are oppressed by the zamindárs, fleeced by the mahájans and victimised by the police? Why does the appearance of a chaprás frighten the whole village and enable its holder to extort money with impunity? Why is the tháná barkandáz so much dreaded in the mufassal that when he is deputed to investigate a death by snake bite, or drowning, his threat to report it as murder and *chulán* the villagers to the *huzúr* as implicated in its commission and concealment, elicits a bribe from them? Why? but because the people are ignorant of their rights. Teach them their rights and they will assert them manfully. Give them knowledge and

they will realise the Baconian aphorism. Educate them and they will cease to be oppressed and trampled upon. There are, however, those who contend that education would unfit the people for their position in life ; but it is not a liberal but a sound and industrial education that I advocate for the great mass. I would teach them *things* and not *words*. I would give a liberal education only to the patrician classes, who will have leisure enough to pursue their studies in after life and render them subservient to the intellectual enlightenment of their countrymen ; but I would inoculate the minds of every class with those generous and elevated principles of religion and morality which are recognised by all creeds and are equally necessary for all men."

" Impressed with these sentiments, I hail the establishment of the ' Prasanna Náth Academy ' as a harbinger of better days for Rájsháhi. That an opulent and influential zamíndár of this district should consecrate a portion of his resources to the maintenance and endowment of a school on such a large scale affords a cheering and auspicious illustration of the growing conviction in this country that those must hold the *masál* who are to walk by its light. Happily the patronage extended by native gentlemen to the cause of native education has ceased to be an uncommon event ; but Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái has also entitled himself to the lasting gratitude of the people of this district by another praiseworthy and public-spirited act. I allude to the Nátor road towards the repairs of which he has contributed the whole expenses, amounting to, I believe, about thirty-five thousand rupees. He has thus set a noble example of enlightened liberality to other zamíndárs. If, instead of fighting with each other to gratify old grudges, or to contest the possession of a single bighá or káthá and frittering away vast sums of money in Sráddhas and ceremonies in Náches and *Nám-ká-wáste* pújás, they were to emulate each other in performing deeds of public utility and ameliorating the condition of the prostrate and pauperised rayats who toiled for them and ministered to their comforts and luxuries ; I am sure the country would soon exhibit a different aspect. We should soon see every district boasting of its College, its Hospital, its Almshouse, and its Serai. We should see the footsore Játrís, thousands and tens of thousands of whom in hurrying to the Bhágirathí are now annually carried off by cholera, dying on the road side, uncheered by the presence and attentions of those near and dear to them, snugly sheltered under the roof of the local caravanserai. We should see the sick poor of every village receiving medical aid instead of falling victims to the empiricism of the Kábirájs. We should see the stream of knowledge permeating every corner of the country, irrigating and fertilizing the mental soil and, like ' Gangá Máýí,' carrying plenty and happiness in its irresistible and beneficent course."

The Prasanna Náth Academy has turned out several educated young men and continues to be in an efficient condition.

A dispensary at Nátor was founded in 1849 by the Deputy Magistrate of that station. At the first annual meeting of the subscribers to the dispensary, held in 1850, Dr. J. R. Bedford, who presided, pointed out to the institutions founded by the Deputy Magistrate, and compared him to the "Man of Ross." At the second annual meeting of the subscribers of the Nátor dispensary, presided over by Prasanna Náth Rái, and held on the 21st April 1851, Dr. J. R. Bedford, as Superintendent to the dispensary, addressed the following letter to the Deputy Magistrate, as Secretary to that institution. "Sir, I had fully anticipated the pleasure of being present at the meeting of your committee, summoned for the 14th instant, but the existence of cholera in the jail of this station forbids my quitting it. I regret this the more from your having been good enough to alter the date of meeting for my convenience. I beg you will assure the gentlemen composing the committee of the pleasure which I feel at being associated with them in so truly charitable an undertaking as the promotion of the Nátor dispensary, and of my sincere desire to benefit the institution by every exertion in my power.

"You have the proud satisfaction of feeling that you are in advance in that mighty social change which is now working in Hindustan, and that the wheel of progress has received one of its earliest impulses from your hand, for we may rest assured that no great moral improvement of any race of people can ever be effected unless preceded by physical advantages.

"Whilst urging you onward, however, in this good course you are forwarding so zealously, you will not be discouraged if I say that, you and I, and the whole world have, until within the last few years, been beginning at the wrong end; our only end has been to cure diseases, altogether overlooking the duty of averting it. Europe is, however, happily awakening from this sleep of apathetic ignorance, and striving hard to make up for lost time. How urgently a similar course of proceeding is required for our Indian towns, none know better than ourselves. At the present time that fell scourge of your countrymen, cholera, is prostrating its victims in all directions. The hale street-labourer of to-day is the corpse of to-morrow; whole families are swept recklessly away. Are we to look on year by year, fold our hands, and do nothing? Most assuredly not. The Great Creator who permits such a plague to strike down his children, has, you may be sure, provided us with the means of combating or even exterminating so terrible a foe, in resources open to intellectual research. Its origin now is doubtless mainly to be found in the filth and dirt which flank

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every highway in our Indian cities. The remedy is to be found in the judicious application of sanitary laws,—laws which should be as rigorously enforced as those bearing upon moral evil. The source of malaria, and circumstances producing or aiding contagion should be as zealously watched as the origin of crime. The secret pestilence, which steals your child from you in the dead of night, should be as carefully guarded against as the less formidable thief who robs you of your worldly goods. By what means you ask me can such desirable measures be achieved. I reply by the institution of a strict system of Medical Police. Cleanse your streets, purify your tanks, fill up the holes near your houses, which abounding with dirt and jungle, reek with diseases and deaths in every corner. If your present local funds be sufficient for the purpose, let me urge upon you the taking advantage of Act X. of 1842, passed by a paternal Government for your benefit, and forming a Municipal Committee out of the resident householders. As you already stand forward in the race of medical improvement, let it be your boast to be first in the formation of the Municipal Institution I advert to. Once established you will find many. invitators, and I venture to look forward to the time when cholera and small-pox shall be spoken of only in connection with the past.

"Should you be induced to carry out my recommendations, I can only say that it will afford me the greatest pleasure to give every possible assistance and to be your officer of health.

"I beg to return the half-yearly statement of cases receiving treatment in your dispensary, and report of the Sub-Assistant Surgeon up to September 1850.

"The first is very satisfactory as evidencing an increased appreciation by the people of the medical advantages offered them, whilst the second affords favourable proof of the ability and zeal of Bábu Chandra Kumár Maitri, in charge of the dispensary.

"I would beg to recommend his suggestion of in-door accommodation to your notice, such an addition to your charity is very essential. His inclination to avail himself of efficient native medicine is judicious and should be encouraged."

Dr. Bedford was the earliest sanitarian in India. He enquired into the practical and scientific condition of sanitary matters in Bengal long before the breaking out of cholera at Mián Mir led the Government of India to adopt measures for the promotion of sanitary progress. He was deeply impressed with the necessity of the removal of ignorance regarding sanitary matters. He advocated the registration of deaths, the variations of climates, the prevalence of particular types of disease, and laid great stress on the clearance of jungles.

Being anxious to perpetuate the school founded by him at Dighápatíá, and the dispensary at Nátor, as well as to found and

endow another dispensary at Rámpur Boáliyá, Prasanna Náth Rái made over to the Commissioner on the 5th July 1852, a lákh of rupees for the purpose. He addressed the following letter on the subject :—

To

H. STAINFORTH, ESQ.,

Commissioner of the 14th or

Murshidábád Division, Boáliyá.

SIR,

With the view of promoting the welfare of the inhabitants of the district of Rájsháhi, I am desirous of making over to Government the sum of Co's Rs. (1,00,000) one hundred thousand in Government Promissory Notes, which amount I enclose as subjoined below for the purpose of endowing the existing charitable dispensary at Nátor, the school I have recently established at Dighápatia, and of founding a dispensary at Boáliyá, which I shall feel obliged by your accepting and administering for me according to my expressed wishes, at the same time acknowledging the above amount by the usual receipt.

I have the honour to be, .

Sir,

DIGHAPATIA ; }
The 5th July, 1852. }

Your most obedient servant,
PRASANNA NATH RAI.

This generous offer having been communicated to the Government, the following letter was addressed :—

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

To

THE OFFICIATING COMMISSIONER OF REVENUE,
14th Division, Murshidábád.

Dated Fort William, the 16th July 1852.

Judicial.

SIR,

I am directed by the Most Noble the Governor of Bengal to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, No. 177, dated the 5th instant, reporting the receipt from Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái, Zamindár of Nandkujá, of Government Promissory Notes to the amount of a lákh of rupees, with a year's interest thereon, amounting altogether to Rs. 1,04,567-2 pie, which that gentleman desires to be devoted towards the endowment of the Charitable Dispensary at Nátor, and of the school recently established by him at Dighápatia, and also to the foundation of a Dispensary at Boáliá.

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2. The Governor of Bengal has been pleased to accept this munificent donation, and directs me to convey through you to Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái, the high sense which His Lordship entertains of his enlightened charity.

3. His Lordship approves of the measures proposed by you for carrying out the wishes of the Bábu in regard to the above Institutions, and is accordingly pleased to appoint a Committee* consisting of the officers and gentlemen named in the margin, to superintend the School and Dispensary at Nátor, and the Dispensary to be founded at Boáliyá under the rules applicable to such Institutions.

The schools and the dispensaries thus endowed by Prasanna Náth Rái will remain monuments of his philanthropy.

In recognition of the valuable services rendered by him to the cause of humanity he received from the Government the title of Rájá Bahádur. The Sanad is dated 20th April 1854, but the letter communicating the bestowal of the title is dated 17th May 1854, and is as follows :—

From

THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT OF BENGAL,

To

RAJA PRASANNA NATH RAI BAHADUR.

Dated Fort William, the 17th May 1854.

General
Political.

SIR,

I am directed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal to inform you that the Most Noble the Governor-General of India in Council has been pleased to confer on you the title of Rájá Bahádur.

You will at the time of your investiture receive a *khilat*, consisting of the articles named in the margin.

&c., &c., &c.

(Signed) W. GREY.

The investiture was held at Government House amidst the gathering of different nationalities. The late Mahárájá of Patialá and other Chiefs were present. The writer of this paper has a vivid recollection of the Darbár, which was one of the grandest ever held. As soon as Lord Dalhousie entered the Hall the Band struck up. When the Darbáris had resumed their

* Commissioner, Judge, Collector.
Magistrate, Civil Surgeon, *Ex-officio*.
Bábu Prasanna Náth Rái.
Bábu Loknáth Maitri.

Maulvi Abdul Ali.
Bábu Gopál LáI Mitra.
Bábu Nílmáni Basák.
Bábu Mathuranáth Bânarji.

seats, the Governor-General, after a few kingly utterances, invested the Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái with the insignia of the title.

On the 10th September 1857, Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái was appointed an Assistant Magistrate in the District of Rájsháhi; and a body of Police consisting of one Jamadár and twenty Barkandázes was placed under his orders.

The career of Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái is an unanswerable refutation of the cry raised some time ago against the zamíndárs as men who have done nothing for the cause of education. We have no hesitation in declaring our conviction that the truth lies exactly in the other way. Far from having done nothing, they have done a great deal in furtherance of that cause. They have been foremost in organizing schools, libraries, dispensaries, and in promoting and extending popular education in every possible way. Their exertions in this direction have been most indefatigable and laudable, and instead of evoking the obloquy of a clique deserve the lasting gratitude of the public. Since the time of Rájá Prasanna Náth Rái hundreds of zamíndárs and educated Hindus have signalized themselves by establishing schools. To illustrate this position would be to cite the thousand and one schools with which the length and breadth of Bengal is studded. There is scarcely a station or sub-station which is without its school or dispensary. Whereas in 1855 and 1856, the year when the grant-in-aid system came into operation, the number of schools was 145, and the number of pupils attending them was 13,229, we find that in 1866-67, the number of schools increased to 2,907, and the number of pupils attending them was 1,21,108. These figures are a sufficient answer to the charge preferred against the Zámíndárs and educated natives as non-educationists, a charge which we have no hesitation in pronouncing to be a fiction. The unselfish life of the Rájá, devoted to patriotic objects, challenges our unqualified admiration. The ancestors of the Rájá Prasanna Náth Ray were no doubt charitable. But his charity was discriminating. It was not exercised on Sráddhas and Náches. It was not displayed in ostentatious manifestations. It sought proper objects and aimed at proper means.

Rájá Prasanna Nath was both a generous and a genial man. His social qualities were of a high order. He freely mixed with Europeans and was almost an Englishman in his tastes and habits. His hospitality was kept up in a fine old mufasul style. The scene where this hospitality was exercised was the Rájbari of Digghapatía which the Rájá had enlarged and decorated, having built on one side a fine *Náchghar*, and on the other a *Singhi Dalán*. He also built a magnificent gateway. The Rájbari was the rendezvous of the officials, the planters, and the zámíndárs. These reunions always took place during the

Huli and *Jhulan* festivals, when the *Rājbari* and the compound around were beautifully illuminated, and the scene was further enlivened by rich displays of fireworks and music.

Rājā Prasanna Nāth Rái died in 1861, and his demise was universally regretted, being considered a national calamity. In 1863, his adopted son, *Pramatha Nāth Rái* was, under the provisions of his father's will, admitted as a boarder student at the Calcutta Wards' Institution. He was the only student of the institution who succeeded in passing the University Entrance Examination. During the time he studied at Calcutta, he was under the eye of his mother, a lady uniting rare sagacity with an overflowing benevolence. In November 1867, he attained his majority; and the first act of his majority was to erect suitable *pukhā* buildings for the accommodation of the hospital and dispensary at *Rāmpur Boáliyá* at an expense of Rs 10,000, founded by his father. The Lieutenant-Governor in noticing this liberal act expressed his desire that an expression of his gratification might be communicated to *Kumār Pramatha Nāth Rái* at the "earnest he has given by his liberality in this matter" of his intention to make a good use of his ample fortune. The road from *Rāmpur Boáliyá* to *Dighápatíá* having fallen into disrepair, *Kumār Pramatha Nāth Rái* followed the example of his father in coming forward to defray the expenses of the road.

In April 1868, he offered to endow the *Rājsháhi Girls' Aided School* with an amount yielding Rs. 180 per annum. The Lieutenant-Governor accepted the offer and acknowledged the liberality of the *Kumār* in suitable terms. In the same year he founded three scholarships for the *Girls' School* at *Boáliyá*.

In 1871, the Commissioner of the Division reported to the Government that *Kumār Pramatha Nāth Ray* was one of the most intelligent and well behaved *Zámindárs* of Lower Bengal; that he managed his *zamindáries* admirably well, and was favourably spoken of by every person coming in contact with him. He therefore recommended that the *Kumār* should receive from the Government the title of *Rājā Bahádur*. Lord Mayo accordingly granted the *Sanad*.

The investiture took place at *Rāmpur Boáliyá* under the auspices of the Commissioner acting as the representative of the Government. The *Rājā* has recently established at his sole expense a *Charitable Dispensary* at his *Kachhári* at *Nakhilá*. It has proved an inestimable boon to the sick poor of that part of the country.

There are several *Zámindárs* in *Rājsháhi* who call themselves *Rájás*. They have certainly not been ennobled by the Government, but they possess large landed properties, on the strength of which their retainers and rayats address them as *Rájás*. Among them may

be mentioned Haranáth Chaudhri of the Sunri caste, commonly called Rájá of Dobalháti; Maheswar Rái, a high-caste Bráhmaṇ, commonly called Rájá of Tábarpur; and Ruhinikánt Rái, also a Bráhmaṇ, is commonly called Rájá of Chaugangá. There is a Muhammadan family at Baghá of which the representative is called the Khánkar; he is unquestionably the rais or chief of the Muhammadan community.

The Padmá or Great Ganges touches on Rájsháhi on the south-west side and holds a course south-east for 65 miles. The Mahánandá flowing from the north continues its southerly course and falls into the Padmá at Godávári, which is a police station and a great rice mart. The other principal rivers traversing Rájsháhi are the Nárad, the Baral, the Atrái, the Jamuná and Gadái. The district is drained by a large lake called the Bhilchalan extending to about 30 miles. The peculiarity of this *bhíl* is, that it not only grows rice, but that the plants rise in proportion to the height of the water. There are two other *bhíls* called Dulábári, and Mandá. Besides these rivers and *bhíls*, the district is intersected by an infinity of *jhíls* and minor streams, rendering intercommunication during the rains very easy. Besides rice which is the staple crop, there are other agricultural products, such as wheat and barley, pulse and cereals; the fibrous plants and oil seeds have of late been extensively cultivated. Of fruit trees the mango may be mentioned as the principal. This is not to be wondered at, as Rájsháhi adjoins Máldah, the land of the mangoes. Sherel Motakharim, a historical narrative of India, mentions Baghé in Rájsháhi, the seat of the Khánkar, as famous for mangoes. Cocoonut does not grow in this district as it is not penetrated by sea air; there being only one garden-house at Rámpur Boáliyá, called Nimái Shaw's house where a few plants may be found. The most important manufactures are indigo and silk. In former days, Government carried on the manufacture of silk on a large scale. The seric manufactory was situated at Rámpur Boáliyá, and the house is now known as the bara kuti; Mr. Robert Burney being for a long time commercial Resident. It was situated at some distance from the Padmá, but the river has now come up to its gate. It is now owned by Messrs. J. and R. Watson, who are the largest silk manufacturers and indigo planters.

The following are the marts:—Tagáchi, Tábarpur, Suryapur, Sardah, Nandaugáchi, Chaurghát, Paukai, Bagatipará, Galimpur, Dhobul, and Rámpur; most of these are rice marts, while others are centres of trade in *dhól* and cereals. The articles chiefly exported are linseed, musur and kansári *dhól*, sissamums, rye, and the produce of other spring crops.

The *bhíls* and *jhíls* above mentioned abound with game as

well as fish. Of wild animals the tiger, deer, and buffalo may be mentioned. They inhabit a large jungle called the jungle of Chaplai, extending to sixteen miles.

Nátor, once the head-quarters of the largest zamíndári, has vanished, as have greater cities in India,—Gaur for example.

But the altered condition of Rájsháhi is not a source of unmitigated regret. The former state of the district contrasts in many respects strikingly with her present condition. During the days of the founder of the Nátor Ráj and his immediate successors, every thing, the buildings and the bazárs, the mandirs and minarets, conveyed an impression of wealth but not of culture. Then came the collapse of the estate of Nátor during the time of Máharájá Rámkrishna. The ability which had founded the Ráj was extinct ; Rámkrishna was helpless to arrest its disintegration. Out of that disintegration rose several Zamíndárs large and small. Contemporaneous with its downfall was the prevalence of crime and lawlessness, usurping the place of order. Then the removal of the sadr station from Nátor to Rámpur Boáliyá deprived the former of its grandeur. But the genius that had consolidated the Nátor Ráj and founded the house of Dighápatiyá was not extinct in the family of Dayáráam. His immediate successors, although neither so able nor so clear-headed, were not destitute of capacity for business. They never lost a bighá of land, but on the contrary made additions to their zamíndáries. When the English Government took root, things changed for the better, crime was repressed and education was promoted ; so that the Rájsháhi of the present day is an improvement upon the Rájsháhi of Rámkrishna. The police which was a disgrace and a scandal has been superseded by a comparatively efficient and pure administration of criminal justice. Dispensaries have been established for the sick poor of the district, and schools and libraries have multiplied. Thus we see retrogression has been followed by progress.

ART. II.—BENOUDHA.

PART III.

WE have now suddenly and half unconsciously hit upon a new vein in social geology, quite dissimilar to any thing that has yet presented itself to our notice, an ethnological "dike," as it were, forced out of its proper level by its own fury and volcanic nature. In the stratum in which we are now conducting our researches, the Muhammadans are what geologists would call "intrusive;" and we do not hesitate to aver that this is precisely the light in which they were regarded by their semi-barbarous antagonists. We leave them for the present, under the conviction that we shall soon meet with them again, and better understand their natural position, if we continue to follow the progressive order of social stratification.

Foremost among the cities which excited the admiration and wonder of the Muhammadan strangers was Kanauj; but what circumstances tended so greatly to embellish and enrich that city Elphinstone in vain endeavours to discover. As to one possible cause he speaks conclusively and in the negative. It was not in any way connected with the magnitude of the dominions of the Rájá, for they were not more extensive than those of his neighbours, nor does he exhibit any superiority of power in their recorded wars and alliances.* It will presently be seen, moreover, that shortly after Mahmud's invasion, Satraph, a large town on the extreme west of Benoudha, was selected by a friend and ally of his as a base of operations against the surrounding country; which would presumably not have been the case, had it lain within his territory. These facts appear to us to confirm our view that Benoudha retained its independence until after the commencement of the eleventh century, and that it never acknowledged the suzerainty of the Tomar Kings of Kanauj.†

* Elphinstone, 4th Edition, p. 281.

† The capitals of the Tomars was once for a short time at Bári, a little to the north of Lucknow (*As. Soc. Journal* l. iv. 1865, p. 206), but this was not till after the first Muhammadan invasion; so that, considering the friendly relation of the Tomars to the invaders, that town may have been part of a conquest effected by their joint efforts. Attempted

territorial aggrandisement on the part of the Tomars would have been a spur to patriotism in causing the league of Hindu princes against them, which Mahmúd marched into Oudh for the express purpose of punishing. (*Elph.*, 4th Edition, 281.) Under any circumstances, moreover, there would be ample room for a boundary line between Bári and Satraph.

About 1050 A.D., however, the Tomars were compelled to retire to Dehli;* and a Rahtor Chief, Chandra-deva, remote ancestor of the present Ráná of Jodhpur, establishing himself on the throne of Kanauj, founded the most famous dynasty of that kingdom. On the west the Tomars continued to be formidable rivals; but, in the opposite direction, the Rahtor power found no check to its expansion. Its utmost limits we leave undefined; it certainly embraced Banáras and Ayodhyá. Local legends, † quoted by Mr. Carnegy, single out Chandra-deva as the conqueror of Ayodhyá; and contemporary historians ‡ denominated the last of the Rahtors the "Rai" and "King" of Banáras. They also state that he was the greatest King in India, and that his kingdom extended from the borders of China to Málwa, and from the sea to within ten days' journey of Láhor; Banáras itself is called the "centre of the country of Hind." § A copper land-grant, moreover, discovered in Ayodhyá in recent days, describes in language turgid with fulsome adulation how Jaya Chandra performed the not very munificent act of giving a village to a bráhman; and in the lengthy recital does not consider it inappropriate to refer to the fact that his great grand-father, Chandradeva, "protected the sacred places of Kási (Banáras) "and Kási Kosava Kosala (Oudh) and Indrasthána, possessing "them." Thus, once again, after the lapse of many centuries, did Benoudha again for a brief season come under the domination of a Hindú prince.

The Rahtors held the sceptre of Kanauj for about a century and a half; and, at the end of that time, Shaháb-ud-dín Ghorí marched against the city at the head of a tremendous following of fifty thousand mounted men, clad in armour and coats of mail. The Rájá was defeated and slain, and his kingdom thoroughly and permanently broken up. Ayodhyá had up to this point remained subject to Kanauj. || What became of it subsequently belongs to Muslim history.

* Mr. Carnegy says (Notes on Races, p. 25) "It has been mentioned as not improbable that Chandra-des was the leader of the expedition, which for a time expelled the "Muhammadans from India." Should this rather be the leader of the anti-Tomar league? If so, we may see what cause first directed the attention of the Rahtors to Kanauj.

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

‡ Elliot's History of India II., 223, 251.

§ A later historian (see Ell. III., 312) speaks of Banáras as the ancient

residence of the arrogant rais; and Ferishta speaks of Jayachandra as prince of Kanauj and Banáras (Briggs' Ferishta I., 178). The common union of these two names perhaps furnished a trap for writers with limited geographical knowledge, into which the author of the *Tabaqát-i Násiri* fell, when he accused Shaháb-ud-dín of returning from Ghazni to India by the rather circuitous route of Banáras and Kanauj (Ell. II., 297).

|| Mr. Carnegy (Notes on Races, p. 25) gives the popular form of

The banner of the Muṣlim was first unfurled in Oudh in the reign of Mahmūd of Ghaznī; and it is quite within the bounds of possibility that the standard-bearer marched in the ranks of Mahmūd himself, for the Sultan is recorded to have twice reached Banáras,* and the highway from Kanauj to that place is known to have lain in later days across the southern portion of the province.† But, even if this supposition be correct, the most we are warranted in believing is that Mahmūd peacefully traversed Oudh in his eastward line of march; there are no grounds for thinking that he carried on hostile operations within it or in any way molested its inhabitants; indeed, while, in Banáras, he is particularly stated to have taken measures, on how-

the Pauranik account of the origin of the name Kanauj. The wind in human form once wooed the hundred beautiful daughters (Kanya) of Kush Nabh, of Mahodī, but their only answer was a reference to their father. Boreas became incensed and reverting to his natural condition entered into the nymphs as the air they breathed, and then had his revenge by making them hunch-backed (Kubja). Mahodī hence became known as Kanya-Kubja. "These loves of the Wind recall Milton's account of the parentage of Euphrosyne."

Zephyr with Aurora playing.

As he met her once a maying.

* This statement is made on the authority of Abul Fazl (Aini-Akbarī, a. v., Allahabad). On the other hand, a writer contemporary with Mahmūd (the author of the *Tarikhu-s Subuktagin*), says of one Ahmad Nialtūgin, a natural son of Mahmūd, that in A.D. 1023, "he crossed the river Ganges and went down the left bank. Unexpectedly (ná-gáh) he arrived at a city which is called Banáras, and which belonged to the province of Gang. *Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place.*" (Ell II., 123). Ferishta (Briggs', I., 57) in his account of Mahmūd says that that prince after reaching Kanauj stayed there only three days and then went to Mirat; but a few pages further on (I. 143) he mentions one Hájib Taghatagin, a General of Sultan Masūd bin Ibrahim, who at

the commencement of the twelfth century crossed the Ganges and carried his conquests further than any Musalmán had done *except Mahmūd*, which certainly implies that Mahmūd also crossed the Ganges. The *Tabaqāt-i-Násirī* does not appear to record any expedition of Mahmūd to the east of the Ganges; but in connection with Sultan Masūd bin Ibrahim contains a passage concerning Hájib Taghatagin, almost word for word the same as Ferishta's. (Ell II. 278.) There is one rather important exception; it says "*since the days of Mahmūd*," and may therefore refer to Ahmad Nialtagin above-named, whose expedition took place only three years after Mahmūd's death. If such be the meaning of this passage, Ferishta must probably be read in the same sense, and Mahmūd's claims become rather weak. The circumstantial account of Abul Fazl, however, on whatever founded, still remains intact. Abul Fazl even gives the dates of Mahmūd's visits to Banáras, which correspond to A.D. 1019 and 1022.

† Ferishta I., 256, says that the road from Delhi to Beugal lay through Jaunpur and Banáras. See also *Calcutta Review*, vol. xli., 1865, p. 118. In Ell. III. 36, 'Iwaz (Oudh) is said to be one of the provinces traversed in the journey from Delhi to Hind; but from the other names given, 'Iwaz would appear to lie between Delhi and Badáun.

ever limited a scale, for the introduction of the religion of the Koran ; in Oudh he left no such traces of his visit.

We, therefore, readily concur in the general opinion that Sayyid Salar Mas'úd Ghází,* a nephew of Mahmúd, is to be credited with the first *invasion* of Benoudha. We refer that event to the year A.D. 1032.

Sayyid Salar Mas'úd Ghází was endowed with every grace and virtue, a perfect paragon of excellence. The beauty of Yusuf, says his panegyrist, the grace of Abraham, and the light of Muhammad shone upon his brow ; and with kinship to render these attractions the more apparent, it could scarcely be otherwise than that Sayyid Salar should stand high in the good graces of his uncle. But who shall gainsay Gray's paradox that a favourite has no friends ? when was ever prime minister who shared not Ahitophel's bitterness of mind at slighted counsel ? Khwája Hasan Maimandi, Mahmúd's Wazir, took such umbrage at the weight the youth's voice carried with it in the council chamber, that he threw up the seals of office in disgust. But then, as now, kings sometimes found it difficult to replace the loss of an able minister, and so to conciliate the Khwája, Sayyid Salar was informed by Mahmúd that he must submit to a short ostracism. It was suggested that he should spend the period of his absence in the pleasures of the chase at Kábulíz ; but this to Sayyid Salar's enterprising and intrepid spirit appeared to be inglorious inaction, and he obtained the Sultán's sanction to undertake an expedition against Hindustan, to subdue the realms of heathen-esse, propagate therein the faith of Islám, and cause the Khutba to be pronounced therein in the Sultan's name.

The spoils of Thaneswar and Somnáth had already familiarised the Ghaznavíds with a knowledge of the wealth of Hind, so adventurers of every degree readily flocked to his standard ; and he set out with an army amounting, with his own followers and

* It has sometimes been supposed that this Sayyid Salar is an imaginary character ; but if so, his mythical and saintly birth took place more than five centuries ago, as his tomb had become a place of sanctity by the time of Muhammad Tughlak, who paid a visit to it, and devoutly made offerings at the shrine (Tarikh-i Firúz Sháhí of Zia-ud-dín Baráí. Ell. III. 249), and Sultan Firúz is said to have done the same in 1376 A.D. (Tarikh-i Firúz Sháhí of Shams-i-Shiráj, Ell III. 362). At the same time great uncertainty exists as to who the saint was and

when he lived. Sir H. Elliot (Sup. Gloss. S. V. Ghází Mián) quotes the opinions of several authorities ; we may add that in the passage of the Firúz Sháhí above-quoted, Sayyid Salar is said to have been one of the heroes of Sultán Mahmúd Subuktágin. In our remarks concerning him, we follow the Mirát-i Mas'údi, which Sir H. Elliot pronounces to give the most authentic account. Comparing dates and other particulars, there may have been some, perhaps a close, connection between Sayyid Salar's expedition and that of Ahmad Nialtigin.

those who joined him, to 1,100,000 men,* each of them, so to say, armed with the Korán in one hand, and the scimitar in the other ; for Sayyid Salar steadily followed an alternative policy like the *parcere subjectis ac debellare superbos* of mighty Rome, of sparing the tractable and willing convert, but putting the stubborn to the sword.†

Sehúr, Multán, and Ajúdhan‡ successively felt the prowess of the youthful warrior, and the throne of Dehli next fell into his hands. Mas'úd, however, declined to ascend it, still affirming that he was warring only for the glory of God. Even so, in more recent times, did Cromwell, with a similar mockery of the Divine Name, put aside the crown of England.§ Finding the precious treasure almost within his grasp, with characteristic caution he paused to "seek God for counsel," that is, he wished to know the opinions of his army ; and having at length satisfied himself that the measure was disagreeable to the *army*, he found himself prompted by *divine inspiration* to declare that he could not undertake the government with the title of king.

Sayyid Salar was probably acted upon by a similar influence, and acute enough to comprehend that it was necessary to find continued employment and the opportunity of gathering fresh spoils for the turbulent soldiery he had led into a foreign country. Tamerlane,|| indeed, thus frankly and unblushingly expounds the double purpose of a holy war. "My principal object," says he, "in coming to Hindustan, and in undergoing all this toil and "hardship, has been to accomplish two things. The first was to "war with the infidels, the enemies of the Muhammadan religion ; "and by this religious warfare to acquire some claim to reward in "the life to come. The other was a worldly object ; that the army "of Islám might gain something by plundering the wealth and "valuables of the infidels : plunder in war is as lawful as their "mother's milk to Musalmáns who war for their faith, and the "consuming of that which is lawful is a means of grace."

After six months' stay at Dehli, therefore, Sayyid Salar marched on to Kanauj ; and after a friendly meeting with the king of that country (to whom he took the opportunity of imparting a few valuable hints on State-craft) continued his journey for ten days after crossing the Ganges, when he arrived at Satrakh. He had

* Ell II., 529.

† See Ell. II., 530-534.

‡ Professor Dowson in a note on this word (Ell II., 530) says "Ajúdha "or Ajúdhya is the old form of the "name Oudh. The scene of Mas'úd's later exploits is laid in the "neighbourhood of Oudh." The Ajúdhan referred to in the text,

however, is a town in the Panjáb (Cunnigham's *Ancient Geography*, 214, 218). In Briggs' *Ferishta* i. 479, it is said to be situated 24 miles from Láhor.

§ Smyth's *Lectures on Modern History*. *Cromwell*.

|| Ell. III., 451.

now reached Benoudha, and immediately addressed himself to the task of its subjection. At that time, we are told, Satrakh was the most flourishing of all the towns and cities of India; it lay in the centre of that country, and abounded in good hunting-ground; moreover it was a sacred shrine of the Hindús. It thus had the recommendation that the Musálmáns, even while enjoying nominal repose, had temples of the heathen always ready at hand in the desecration of which they might employ themselves, whenever the fancy seized them, and from resort to which they could always debar the Hindú pilgrim. Mas'úd accordingly took up his quarters there, and sent out armies on every side to conquer the surrounding country. Salar Saifu-d-dín and Miyán Rájá he despatched against Bahraich, Sultánu-s Sulátín and Mír Bakh-tiyár against the lower country; Amir Hasan Arab against Mahona; Sayyid Azizu-d-dín (otherwise known as Lál Pír or Saint Rufus) against Gopaman and its vicinity; and Malik Fazl against Banáras and its neighbourhood. Mas'úd's warlike ardour seems to have cooled down a bit, so he reserved for himself the easy duty of "continuing to reside with great magnificence at Satrakh and enjoying the pleasures of the chase."*

Here his father Salar Sáhú joined him; and about the same time, it was ascertained, by means of intercepted letters, that the chiefs of the south of Oudh were contemplating the formation of an alliance with those of the north against their common foe. Salar Sáhú accordingly started off by forced marches against the former and, surprising them by a night-attack took possession of their capitals, Karrah and Mánikpur. Muhammadan generals were placed in charge of both those places, and Salar Sáhú returned to Satrakh in triumph.

In the meanwhile, the Chiefs of the north were making common cause against the garrison of Bahraich, which sent to Satrakh

* Professor Dowson (Ell. II., 549) says on the authority of General Cunningham, "Satrakh which is placed at ten days' march on the opposite side of the Ganges from Kanauj, is probably Vesákh or Besákh, a name of Sahet or Ayo-dhya (Oudh), Saddhúr and Amethi must be Bhadúr and Amethi, two towns between Karra-Manikpur." But Mr. Carnegie (Notes on Races, p. 25) and Mr C. A. Elliott (Chr. Oon. p. 84) place Satrakh in the Daryabad (now the Bārabanki) district, in which we find by reference to Mr. Williams' Census Report (Tables, *passim*), that it still gives its name to a parganah and to a taluq.

(App. G. xxi). Saddhúr would similarly seem to be Sidhaur, which gives its name to another parganah in the same district; and Amethi the town of that name a little to the south of Satrakh on the Lucknow-Jaunpur Road. In the time of Akbar it gave its name to a parganah in the Lucknow Sarkár. All three places are prominently marked on the Revenue Survey Map, as Sutrikh, Sidhowr, Umethee. It is necessary to point out that neither the map nor the books alluded to, were in existence at the date (1862) of the publication of General Cunningham's Archaeological Report to which Professor Dowson refers.

to demand immediate aid. Sayyid Salar now wished to be placed in command of Bahraich; but this object being frustrated by his father's anxiety for his safety, he was obliged to content himself with a hunting excursion into that country. While still there, however, he received tidings of the death of his father at Satrakh, so he again buckled on his armour for a renewal of the contest with the infidels. Not many months elapsed* before he was slain in battle with them (A.D. 1033), and thus earned the title, by which his panegyrist delights to describe him, of the Prince of Martyrs.

Regarding the permanence of the impression produced on Benoudha by this invasion, opinions are somewhat at variance. Mr. Carnegie† appears to favour the view that the Musalmán army was all but annihilated, and that scarcely a man escaped to tell the tale. Mr. J. C. Williams, on the other hand, in his Report on the Census of Oudh, brings forward four arguments against this theory, three of which are based on statements contained in one of the books under review. We may here appear to be laying Mr. Carnegie open to the charge of inconsistency; but it appears that the passages in question are not from Mr. Carnegie's pen, but from that of Mr. Woodburn of the Civil Service, who "most obligingly undertook to arrange the portion of the notes which belonged to the Muhammadan portion of the subject, and" very largely added to them from his own well-stored mines of "knowledge."

"Doubtless," says Mr. Woodburn,‡ "no family can give convincing proofs of such descent; but tradition still connects several with the survivors of the invading force," and he then proceeds to enumerate instances in point. Several families in Bahraich itself are supposed to be descendants of the invaders. Sayyid Mas'úd Bihání escaped to Biháwan in Faizábád, and the descendants of his brother fugitive Shekh Mahmúd still inhabit the town of Hanswár in parganah Bishar. Other Shekhs established themselves in the same vicinity, and a Mughal family in Alanpur in the Akbarpur parganah. The town of Saidpúr in the district of Daryábad is believed to have been founded by Sayyid Abdulla, one of Sálár's captains; and the Páris of Gopaman claim descent from other warriors of the same army.

These instances may, we believe, be multiplied. The old Bhar

* Sayyid Salar's birth took place on the 21st Shab'an 405 H. (1015 A.D.). He was eighteen years old, says his biographer, when at Satrakh; (which would appear to involve a slight contradiction of the subsequent statement that) he went to

Bahraich on the 17th Sha'ban in the year 423, or a few days before he turned eighteen. He was killed on the 14th Rajab 424 H. (14th June 1033).

† Notes on Races, p. 25.

‡ Notes on Races, p. 63.

citadel of Udyanagar was demolished, and the present city of Jais* founded on its ruins by Sayyid Najmu-d-dín, who commanded a portion of the hosts of Mas'úd; Subcha at the same time passed into the hands of the ancestors of the present Shekh owners; Salone contains the dargah and tomb of the Martyr (Shahíd) Píran Puronta,† a companion it is said of the renowned Sayyid Salar of Bahraich fame; and some Shekh families in the Beház tehsil in the district of Pratábgarh‡ are said to be descendants of those who came with that General§

Nor do family annals alone contradict the tale of utter destruction of the first Muhammadan invaders. "The tomb of Sayyid Salar at Bahraich is admittedly a cenotaph erected two hundred years after his death; but 'the graves which still exist' at the various points of his march are presumed to have been constructed by his orders. The fact that so small an army marched successfully through a considerable tract of country, suggests that it met with less opposition than Muhammadan traditions assert, and construction of permanent tombs for those who died seems to favour the supposition. I am inclined to urge, from the preservation of these tombs, that the Muhammadans were not received with particular rancour, and that the extirpation of the army after its defeat is doubtful."

We feel no hesitation whatever in yielding assent to the views here expressed, or to the qualification which immediately follows that only a faint connection can at the same time be traced between the present Muhammadans of the province and the pioneers of their faith in Avadh. This last word means Oudh, and Mr. Carnegy is careful to explain in his preface that it was only under the influence of *sæva necessitas* that he adopted such an uncouth metamorphosis of so familiar a name.

It has been seen that Sayyid Salar with stern impartiality, despatched expeditions against all the four quarters of the compass; but, though Banáras and Jaunpur on the East escaped not, the history of Ayodhyá, Kusapura and Aror is wholly silent about his coming. Their reduction under Muhammadan rule was reserved for other hands.

The complete conquest of Benoudha was effected by Shahábu-d-dín or Muhammad Ghorí in A.D. 1193-94. Part of the Kanauj-Banáras Empire, it fell to Shahábu-d-dín as part of the fruits

* This differs from what is said in Notes on Races, p. 65; but we have reason to believe it to be in accordance with the account the Sayyids of Jais give of the matter.

† Mr. R. M. King's Pratábgarh Report, p. 36.

‡ Ibid, p. 26.

§ Settlements were also made at the same time in the adjoining provinces, e.g., at Bhilwal, a few miles south-east of Amethí, and at more than one place in the Allahabad district.

of his victory over Jayachandra in the battle of Chandwár. Fresh Muhammadan colonies were now planted in it, the principal of which were those of Radaulí in Daryábad, and Mánikpur in Pratabgarh; and the various States, evolved in the time of Bhar supremacy out of the old province of Benoudha, were constituted proconsulates of the Ghorian Empire. In Ayodhyá is still shown the tomb of Makhdúm Sháh Jorán Ghorí, a Lieutenant, it is alleged, of Shahábu-d-dín.* May not the tenant of this tomb have been the first Muhammadan Governor of Oudh?†

The conjecture is at least a fair one: the more so that written history shows that at all events within four years of the battle of Chandwár, the province was under the rule of Kutbu-d-dín's Generals.‡ In relating the history of the grim hero Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí, the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násiri* says that "this Muhammad Bakhtiyár was a Khiljí of Ghor in the province of Garmsir. He was a very smart, enterprising, bold, courageous, wise and experienced man. He left his tribe and came to the Sultán Mu'izzu-d-dín at Ghazni, and was placed in the diwán-i-arz (office for petitions); but as the chief of that department was not satisfied with him, he was dismissed, and proceeded from Ghazni to Hindustán. When he reached the Court of Dehli, he was again rejected by the chief of the diwán-i-arz of that city, and so he went on to Badaún into the service of Hizbaru-d-dín Hasan, Commander-in-Chief, when he obtained a suitable position. After a time he went to Oudh, in the service of Malik Hisámu-d-dín. He had good horses and good arms, and he had showed much activity and valour at many places, so he obtained Sahlat and Sahlí in jágír.§"

We have quoted this passage *in extenso*, because Muhammad Bakhtiyár is himself credited by Elphinstone with the conquest of a part at least of Oudh; whereas it is clear from our quotation that he found the province under a Musalmán Governor, or at least in the occupation of a Musalmán army on his first arrival in it; and that it was only by entering into the service of the then

* See *As. Soc. Journal*—I. IV. 1865, p. 250, where it is said that many coins of the *Ghorí* Kings of Dehli have been found lately in the North of Oudh; but we hesitate to use this argument, as perhaps the passage must be read by the light of another at p. 238 of the *Journal*, which in speaking of Dhópápur, in the South, limits the ranges of coins there found between Násiru-d-dín Mahmúd Ghorí and Akbar, and the earliest of them would then belong to the thirteenth century. By

the next paragraph, however, it will be seen that there were Muhammadan Governors in Oudh and Bahraich before the accession of Násiru-d-dín.

† Faizábád Report, p. 27.

‡ Thus Muhammad Bakhtiyár "had subdued the districts of Behár and Nadiyá" by A.D. 1197 (*Ell. II. 300*) so that the Governor of Oudh under whom he commenced his military career must have been in office before that time.

§ *Ell. II. 305.*

Governor or Commander-in-Chief that he obtained a base of operations for his subsequent incursions into Behar. Malik Hisámu-d-dín's appointment to Oudh is easily intelligible. He had been a companion of Kutbu-d-dín in the Banáras campaign, and immediately on its conclusion had been appointed to the government of Kol.* His transfer to Oudh fits in well with the death at Ayodhyá of the above-mentioned Makhdúm Shah Jurán Ghorí.

We must, therefore, pluck a laurel from Muhammad Bakhtiyár's brow, though we will not altogether deny him a place in the history of Oudh. He may have succeeded Hisámu-d-dín, and thus been its third Governor; for in the year 1202, after having been rather shaky in his allegiance for some time, he deemed it prudent to conciliate Kutbu-d-dín, and therefore "joined the auspicious stirrups and came to pay his respects from *Akhraiyá* 'is anjil "of Oudh and Behár."†

On the death of Kutbu-d-dín first time, under Musalmán rule, ceased altogether to acknowledge an Empire of the East and an Empire first, though by no means to exist simultaneously, just as happened Hindustán was divided days of its decline. Muhammad Bakhtiyár'spire of the West-d-dín was awakened from his short dream of independence to the condition of a feudatory of Dehli, and restricted his dominion to Bengal Proper. The rest of the territory he had previously held was parcelled out into smaller jurisdictions, in which we believe may be traced the commencement of those arrangements, which were afterwards more fully elaborated in the *Ain-i-Akbari*. || Among them Oudh—not the Oudh of Ráma,

* Ell. II. 224. We are assuming that Malik-ul Umará Hisámu-d-dín 'Ulúk and Malik Hisámu-d-dín Ughlúk are no other than one and the same.

† Ell. II. 232. Elphinstone perhaps had this passage in his mind when he wrote; but if so, it obviously conveys no authority for the statement that Muhammad Bakhtiyár Khiljí conquered Oudh. The reference he gives is apparently intended only to support the assertion, that Muhammad Bakhtiyár waited on Kutbu-d-dín; for it does not say, he conquered either Oudh or Behar; on the contrary it says he had been appointed Governor of Behar (and that *al-ne*) by the king. Nor does Ferishta in his account of the Sharfí Kings mention Oudh among the

acquisitions of Muhammad Bakhtiyár, nor does Abu-l Fazl in the *Ain-i-Akbari* s.v. Bengal.

‡ Ferishta I. 203.

§ Elphinstone gives the same date as in the text, but makes Muhammad Bakhtiyár himself the adversary of Shamsu-d-dín; but compare Ferishta I. 208 and Ell. II. 319, 324. Muhammad Bakhtiyár died in A.D. 1205, and still at the death of Arám Sháh (A.D. 1211) Hindustán was divided into four principalities, of which Lakhnauli held by Khiljí chiefs and Sultans was one.

|| Thus the three contiguous Governments of Bahraich, Oudh, and Mánikpúr mentioned in the succeeding sentence appear as three contiguous sarkárs in the *Ain-i-Akbari*

of the Mughul Emperors, or of the Nawáb Wazírs, but a tiny little tract bounded on the north by Bahraich and on the south-west by Mánikpur—became again a separate province, under the rule of its own governors.

The first incumbent of the office (A.D. 1226) was Shamsu-d-dín's eldest and favourite son,* Násiru-d-dín, a prince, according to Muhammadan writers, of rare ability and promise, whose early virtues held out hopes of a brilliant reign, soon disappointed by his untimely death. In this perhaps consists his excellence, that while still Governor of Oudh he overthrew and sent to hell the accursed Bartúh (?) under whose hand and sword more than one hundred and twenty thousand Musalmáns had received martyrdom. He overthrew the rebel infidels of Oudh and brought a body of them into submission.

A few years after his death, his namesake Násiru-d-dín Tabáshi Muizzi held the province,† and distinguished himself by leading an army to the relief of Sultán Razia while she was besieged in Dehli by the chiefs of the faction opposed to her elevation (A.D. 1236). The glory of the affair, however, lay in the attempt, for it terminated unsuccessfully; Násiru-d-dín was taken prisoner and died in captivity soon after. Next to him comes mention of Kamru-d-dín Kairán, ‡ whom Minháju-s Siráj, the author of the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí*, particularizes as having shown him great attention in Oudh, while he was making a tour from Dehli to Lakhnautí (A.D. 1242). On such trifles does fame depend! This Kamru-d-dín may, for all we know to the contrary, be the anonymous "Chief of Oudh," enumerated as one of the nobles who eleven years later instigated Ghaiásu-d-dín Balban, then banished from the Court of Dehli, to take up arms against the Emperor and the minister who had supplanted him§

In the year 1255, something mysterious happened in the royal harem,|| the result of which was that under the "behests of fate" the mind of His Majesty was turned against his mother, the Malik-i-Jahán." She was married to Katlagh Khan; so to get her and her husband away from court, Oudh was granted to them, and they were directed to proceed thither. This command they obeyed without hesitation, but before the year was out, His Majesty had taken it into his head that Katlagh Khan was better

* Ell. II. 329.

† Ell. II. 333.

‡ Ell. II. 343. It is not expressly mentioned that Kamru-d-dín Kairán was Governor; but he is mentioned (Ib. 343) in the same breath with Táju-d-dín Sanjar Katlak, who held that rank in Badáun.

§ Ferishta (I. 230) calls one Qasí Jalálu-d-dín (who was sent in A.D. 1243 with a Khillat to Tughán Khan of Lakhnautí) Governor of Oudh; but in the *Tabaqát-i-Násirí* (Ell. II. 345) the same person is called *gub* of Oudh.

|| Ell. II., 354, 355, 373, 374, 375.

out of Oudh, and ordered him to proceed to Bahraich.* This time Katlagh Khan questioned the propriety of the order, and refused to act upon it. A royal army was accordingly sent against him to enforce obedience, which he not only ventured to meet, but succeeded in defeating. He was unable to follow up his victory, however; and Balban, now reinstated in the office of Wazír, having been sent against him with a second army, he was obliged to evacuate the province, his connection with which thereafter ceased.

He appears to have been succeeded by Arslán Khán Sanjar,† who like him has been immortalised by means of his disloyalty. In A.D. 1259, Arslán Khán was summoned to join the royal camp, an invitation to which he for some reason deemed it imprudent to respond, and he therefore began to meditate revolt. The energy and vigour of the Wazír Balban, who in spite of the hot season promptly led an army to the neighbourhood of Karrah, induced him to lay aside his seditious schemes and make his submission to the Emperor. By the intercession of the minister Arslán Khán obtained pardon; but, though not degraded and disgraced, he was removed to another province, that of Karrah-Mánikpur.

Aptagín,‡ the "long-haired" otherwise known as Amír Khán, was probably installed in his place; for he was an old slave of the all-powerful Wazír, (and so likely to be appointed at such a time) and when mentioned in connection with the affairs of twenty years later (A.D. 1279) "he had, for *many years* held the fief of Oudh." He is remembered only by his tragic end. He was selected by Balban to command an expedition against the rebel Tughral, but suffered a severe defeat, and Balban ordered him to be hanged "over the gate of Oudh"! This is not the only instance of such measure being meted out to unsuccessful Generals, and Balban is said to have gone almost wild with rage and vexation at the rebellion of Tughral; but a second motive also probably influenced him in his savage treatment of Amír Khán. In the palmy days of ancient Rome, the victorious consul while borne along in triumphal procession, was accompanied in his car by a slave, who, to prevent his indulging in excessive

* Imádu-d-dín Rihán had been appointed to Bahraich when Katlagh Khan came to Oudh (Ell. II. 373), but Táju-d-dín Sanjar, perhaps the one mentioned in a previous note, was shortly afterwards appointed to the same government. Katlagh Khan, apparently in consequence of an understanding with Imádu-d-dín seized Táju-d-dín and confined him

in prison. Táju-d-dín managed to escape, however, and went to Bahraich; when Imádu-d-dín was defeated and slain. His downfall is said to have hastened the ruin of Katlagh Khán. (Ell. II. 374.)

† Ell. II. 379.

‡ Ferishta I. 256. Ell. III. 114, 121, 130.

self-complacency, ever and anon reminded him of their common nature, and of the little distance that separated the ruler and the bondman. Ghaiásu-d-dín, by fortune a monarch, but by birth a slave, heard the same warning incessantly repeated by a "still small voice within;" and no sooner did he ascend the throne than he set about taking all power out of the hands of his old associates, and the servile class in general.* To this settled policy, we conjecture, as much as to a sudden out-burst of wrath on the part of Bálban at his defeat, did Amír Khán fall a victim. Even in that age, at least, judged by the grounds on which Balban nominally acted, "this condign punishment excited a strong feeling of opposition among the wise men of the day, who looked upon it as a token that the reign of Balban was drawing to an end."†

Balban's Governors, indeed, held no sinecures; he employed them pretty freely to point a moral, or adorn a tale. In the narrow compass of Oudh alone is to be found a second example of his unrelenting severity towards those who had the misfortune to fall under his displeasure. Haihat Khan, Governor of Oudh, an officer also of the household troops, had a person of obscure rank put to death, while in a state of intoxication. The widow complained to Balban, and the unlucky Governor was sentenced to receive a public whipping of five hundred lashes, and after its infliction made over as a slave to the widow, out of whose clutches he escaped only by the payment of a ransom of 20,000 silver tankas.‡

A few years later, Oudh, then governed by a nameless "Khán" became the scene of an event of a much more pleasing character, the romantic meeting of the thrice-royal Kai-Kubád with his father Baghra Khan, celebrated by the poet Amír Khusrau as the conjunction of the two auspicious planets.§ Kai-Kubád, on the death of his grand-father Balban, was placed on the throne under the title of Muizzu-d-dín. Baghra Khán, then absent in his Government of Bengal, no sooner received intelligence of the circumstance, than he advanced from Lakhnauti to Oudh, with a powerful army, had the Khutba read in his name, and proclaimed himself King under the title of Násiru-d-dín. Kai-kubád in turn collected his forces, and sent them in the same direction, and on his arrival from Dehli pitched his camp at Oudh (Ayodhyá) on the banks of the Ghaghrá. Baghra Khán was posted on the opposite side of the river. Messages of defiance were exchanged with equal spirit on either side, until at length the affection of the father overcoming his displeasures, Baghra

* Elphinstone.

† Ell. II. 314.

‡ Ferishta I. 253.

§ Ell. III. 530. A somewhat different account is given by Elphinstone, p. 328. See also Fer. I. 278.

Khán addressed his son in conciliatory terms, and requested to be admitted to an interview.

They met, each endeavoured to persuade the other to assume the place of honour; each shrank from occupying it himself. "Long they continued in this gentle altercation, and no one could "see the step of either advance." At length, Baghra Khan seizing his son's hand placed him on the throne, and then descending stood before him with his hands joined in token of humility and respect. Kai-Kubád, all dutiful during this transient revival of filial affection, speedily rose from the throne, descended and embraced his father. The courtiers looked on with mingled wonder and emotion, while Baghra Khán confirmed his son in possession of the throne and offered thanks aloud to heaven that he had seen the desire of his heart accomplished. Were this affecting scene enacted on the modern stage, it would be accompanied at its close with soft and solemn strains of music; the poetic narrator similarly feeling that some finish was still wanting to the tableau ranged the "officers of State on either side, "holding trays of jewels in their hands, which they poured upon "the heads of the two Kings, and the ground before them was "strewn with rubies, pearls, silver and gold!"

Soon after this reconciliation the camps were broken up; and Kai-Kubád, on his departure nominated Khán-i-Jahán, immortalised by Amír Khusrau of whom he was a warm patron, to the Government of Oudh.* He retained it for at least two years, as for that time Amír Khusrau was a constant attendant at his court; and was followed, immediately or shortly after, by Malik Ali, whose brief tenure of office was terminated by his rebellion.†

The house of Khiljí was now established on the throne of Dehli; but Malik Chajjú, a nephew of Ghaiásu-d-dín, held the important government of Karrah, and did not yet despair of recovering the more magnificent heritage of the house of Balban. He accordingly raised the standard of revolt.‡ Malik Ali was then Governor of Oudh, and lent himself to the furtherance of Malik Chajjú's ambitious designs. The confederates met with small success, for their army was very soon defeated by Arkalí Khán, second son of the Khiljí Emperor. All the Chiefs were taken prisoners, and sent in ignominious procession with boughs of trees round their necks to Dehli.§ The lives of Malik Chajjú and Malik Ali were spared, but their provinces were confiscated. Aláu-d-dín Khiljí, afterwards Emperor, was immediately appointed

* Eul. III. 532.

† Ferishta (I. 293) calls him *Amir Ali*, which may be explained, by Eul. III., 157. Both *Malik* and *Amir* were titles, the former a degree high-

er than the latter. *Amir Ali* had also according to Ferishta a new title, *Hatim Khán*.

‡ Eul. II. 137.

§ Ferishta I. 293.

to that of Karrah, and very shortly afterwards succeeded Amír Ali in that of Oudh.

Famous as a Monarch, victorious as a General, infamous as a régicide, aye and parricide to boot, Aláu-d-dín Khiljí owes no portion of his notoriety to his connection with Oudh. Almost immediately after he received a grant of the province, he set out on an expedition to Deogír* ; and on his arrival at Karrah on his return, those events occurred which converted him from a provincial ruler into an Emperor, and he marched direct to Dehli. Nor is there any thing to show that he subsequently ever visited his early government.

During Aláu-d-dín's absence at Deogír, Alanu-l-Mulk, uncle of the author of the *Tarikh-i-Firúz Sháhí*, acted as his deputy in Oudh and Karrah ;† and on Aláu-d-dín's attaining the imperial dignity he was confirmed in the government of those provinces. (A.D. 1296.) In the following year, however, he was summoned to Dehli ; and notwithstanding his being, as his nephew mischievously records, obese and lazy, was created Kotwal of that City.‡ Oudh still continued to retain its individuality, being one of twenty-three principal provinces § into which the empire of Dehli was divided ; but we are unable to say who held it during the next quarter of a century. We then find incidental mention of one Malik Tigín of Oudh,|| who (A.D. 1328) accompanied Ulugh Khán,¶ son of Ghaiásu-d-dín Tughlak in his expedition against Warangal. Together with many other nobles, he deserted from Ulugh Khán's camp, at an important crisis of the siege of that place, and thus caused its failure. He paid the penalty of his misconduct by falling into the hands of the Hindús who killed and flayed him and sent his skin to Ulugh Khán at Deogír.

He was succeeded by Malik Ainu-l-Mulk** under whose long and beneficent rule, Oudh reached a state of great prosperity ; so much so that many of the nobles and officials of Dehli, dreading the stern character of the Emperor Muhammad Tughlak came and settled in that province (and in Zafrabad also held by Ainu-l-Mulk) together with their wives and families. Ainu-l-Mulk was as loyal a subject, and as skilful a General as he was an experienced Governor, and had more than once given proof of those qualities by

* Ell. III. 148.—*Ferishta* I. 333. After obtaining Oudh, Aláu-d-dín seems to have gone to Dehli, then back to Karrah, and then to Deogír.

† Ell. III. 149.

‡ Ell. III. 161.

§ Ell. III. 574.

|| Ell. III. 233, and *Ferishta* I. 405.

¶ Ell. II. 231. Usually called Alaf Khán.

** We argue that such was the case because in reference to the events of A.D. 1340, it is said that Ainu-l-Mulk had held Oudh for many years (Ell. III. 247), and that he was an *old* courtier and associate of the Sultán (Ib. 248) which might account for his appointment a long time before.

the reduction of refractory chiefs, in which he had been assisted by his brothers.* The Sultán, accordingly, in A.D. 1340, meditated the removal of the whole family to Deogír, where a good ruler was required; but Ainu-l-Mulk, who was simultaneously called upon to surrender the Dehli refugees, became alarmed, and together with his brothers plunged into that rebellion, which they had so often been the means of punishing in others. They had the temerity to take the initiative, and march against the Sultán, but suffered a complete defeat. The Malik's brothers were slain in the conflict, and he himself fell into the hands of the Sultán, who treated him with unusual clemency as he thought that he was "not wilfully rebellious, but had acted through mistake." Whether he was not deprived of his office, however, is doubtful; for according to one account, his services were for some time lost to the State, on account of the misconduct of his brothers, and when they were again employed it was in the fief of Multán.†

Ainu-l-Mulk, it has been seen, held at the same time the two provinces of Oudh and Zafrabad; and here begins to be dimly foreshadowed that closer and more lasting union between them, which took place at the end of the same century. Not that they were continuously held together from the time of Ainu-l-Mulk; for when, after the extinction of the revolt of Shamsu-d-dín, of Gujarát, new Governors were appointed to all border provinces (A.D. 1376),‡ Oudh was given to Hisámu-l-Mulk, while Zafrabad fell to Malik Bahroz. But a very few years subsequently, (A.D. 1394) the vast empire of Dehli fell to peices, and seven Kingdoms § rose upon its ruins; and then Oudh and Jaunpur (together with Karrah and Kanauj) became united under the same sceptre, that of that Sharkí dynasty of Jaunpur.

(To be continued.)

* The assertion (EIL. III. 248) that Ainu-l-Mulk and his brothers knew nothing of war and fighting must mean in comparison with the Sultán; for taken by itself, it is contrary to related facts. As early as the year 1304, Ainu-l-Mulk had conquered Málwa.

† EIL. II. 369. Ibn Batúta says that on his capture he was treated with every indignity and kept in chains for two years and a half, and then pardoned (EIL. III. 619).

‡ Ferishta I. 456.

§ Ferishta I. 498.

ART. III.—THE SECT OF “THE ASSASSINS.”

PART III. THE CALIPHS OF BAGHDAD.

THE conclusion of our last paper established the sect of “the Assassins” in Asia, and fairly launched them on their dark and bloody career. Their daggers had already reached the heart of the most eminent statesman, and one of the most estimable of the men of his time, the aged vazir, Nizam-ul-Mulk. From that time their power grew apace. But in order to understand the causes which enabled an organisation so utterly subversive of all social order, to strengthen and develop, it will be necessary to take a rapid retrospect of the events which, commencing with the rise of the Abbasides to the dignity of Caliph, gradually brought all central Asia, from Herat to the very borders of Christendom, under subjection to the Seljukian Turks. In the first chapter of this narrative we gave a brief account of the primary schism in Islam, which resulted in the transference of the supreme power from the family of Ali, to the house of Ommeya. The princes of this house reigned over Islam until the year 132 (A.D. 750) when a successful revolution drove them from Damascus, and replaced them by the Abbasides. The origin of the house of Abbas was in this wise:—

Before the birth of the Prophet, and about the middle of the fifth century (A.D. 440) the chief power in the city of Mecca belonged to an Arab sheikh of the tribe of Koreish, named Cossai. At that time, not less than after the death of the Prophet, Mecca, as our readers will remember, was a sacred city in virtue of its possession of the black stone. Thither the tribes went up to worship, and it was from the influence attaching to the offices connected with the Caaba, and the yearly pilgrimage, that the Sheikhs of the Koreish derived their power. These offices were five in number; 1.—*Sicaya* and *Rifada*; the exclusive privilege of supplying food and water to the pilgrims. 2.—*Kiyada*; the command of the troops in war. III.—*Liwa*; the right of affixing the banner to the staff and presenting it to the standard bearer. IV.—*Hijaba*; the charge of the Caaba. V.—*Dar-ul-Nadwa*; the presidency in the Hall of Council. Cossai, a man of commanding ability, had contrived to get the whole of these offices in his own possession, and his great ambition was to transmit his power undiminished to his eldest son. He had in all four sons; the two eldest of whom were Abd-al-dar, and Abd Menaf; but of these Abd Menaf though inferior in point of age, was by far the most vigorous and enterprising in character. The consequence was that on Cossai's death, the real power passed into the possession

of Abd Menaf ; his elder brother enjoying little more than a merely nominal supremacy. Abd Menaf managed all the affairs of Mecca, and on him was devolved the duty of laying out fresh quarters for the increasing population of the city. Upon the death of Abd-al-dar, the five offices passed to his sons, but they all died a few years after him, leaving children too young to maintain the rights which had descended to them. (A.D. 500.) Meanwhile the sons of Abd Menaf had reached man's estate ; they inherited the lofty qualities of their father, and were held in equal respect by the tribe of Koreish. The two eldest were Al Mutallib, and Hashim. There was bitter feud between them and the grandchildren of Abd-al-dar. Mecca at one time seemed in danger of becoming the scene of a fierce civil war, when a compromise was effected which averted the calamity. To Hashim and his party was conceded the office of providing food and water for the pilgrims ; and the descendants of Abd-al-dar retained the custody of the Kaaba, the right to preside in the Hall of Council, and that of raising the banner. Hashim, a man of great wealth, greatly increased his authority by the princely magnificence of his entertainments to the pilgrims ; and the lavish munificence with which during a period of famine, he relieved the wants of his fellow citizens. He died early in the sixth century leaving one son who was brought up at Medina under the care of his mother. Hashim left his right of entertainment to his elder brother Al Muttalib, who continued to discharge that function in such magnificent fashion, that he received the appellation of "Munificent." After the lapse of some time, he went to Medina returning with his nephew, the only child of Hashim. He reached Mecca during the heat of the day. As the inhabitants sitting in the shade of their houses saw him pass with the lad at his side, they exclaimed *Abd-al Muttalib*—"Look at the servant of Muttalib"—and this name clung to the son of Hashim ever after. On the death of his uncle, Abd-al-Muttalib succeeded to the office of entertaining the pilgrims. But he was poor, and for a long time remained destitute of power or consideration. He had, however, the good fortune after a time to discover the celebrated well of Zem Zem, which had been choked up centuries before, but the recollection of which had survived by tradition. The scarcity of water at Mecca rendered this discovery one of great value. The position of Abd-al-Muttalib became at once changed. His power steadily increased ; he became, and continued until his death, the chief man in Mecca. He had ten sons ; the youngest and best beloved of whom was Abdallah, the father of Muhammad. Abdallah died while his son was still unborn, and the guardianship of the future Prophet devolved upon the venerable Abd-al-Muttalib. This guardianship lasted only a few years.

Abd-al-Muttalib died A.D. 578, at the ripe age of four score and two. The right of entertaining the pilgrims passed to his eldest surviving son Zobeir, and after him to his younger brother Abbas—the progenitor of the Abbaside Caliphs. But since the death of Abd-al-Muttalib, the influence of the family had steadily declined; and that of Abu Sofian—the father of Moawiah, the first Ommeya Caliph—had attained the ascendant. Abbas succeeded in retaining the privilege only of supplying the pilgrims with water. This was held by him until the introduction of Islam, and confirmed to him and his family by the Prophet. But he was a man in no way remarkable, and was never held in much account by his fellow tribesmen. When the prophet resolved to abandon Mecca, and went out beyond the city for that momentous midnight interview with the Medina converts which resulted in "the Flight," Abbas was his sole companion. Abbas, however, was not at this time a convert nor until long after. During the prophet's residence at Medina, he remained at Mecca, playing the part of a trimmer, and managing to preserve the good will of both parties. Only when the Prophet set out on that triumphant march which carried him unopposed into Mecca, did Abbas openly espouse his cause. He met the Prophet half way between Mecca and Medina, and was received with favour and affection.

Abu Abdallah Muhammad the great grandson of this Abbas, was the father of the two first Abbaside Caliphs. There was no lack of prognostications setting forth the approaching greatness of his family. We cite one here as illustrative of the time. "We happened," so it is related as coming from the lips of Hajjaj (the "infamous Hajjaj" of our first paper) "to be with Abdal Malek Ibn Marwan at a country seat of his He was conversing with a physiognomist, and addressing questions to him when Ali Ibn Abdallah came in accompanied by his son Muhammad. On seeing him approach, Abd-al-Malek ceased from conversation, his colour changed, and he began to mutter some words between his lips. I immediately sprung up with the intention of preventing Ali from advancing, but the Caliph made me a sign that I should let him alone. He then drew near and made his salutation, on which Abd-al-Malek seated him by his side, and while he passed his hand carelessly over his clothes, he signed to Muhammad that he should also be seated. He then commenced discoursing with Ali, the agreeable tone of whose conversation was well known. A repast being brought in, the Caliph washed his hands, and ordered the tray to be placed near Ali Ibn Abdallah, but he said he was then keeping a fast, and rising up suddenly he retired. Abd-al-Malek followed him with his eyes till he had nearly disappeared from sight, and then turning to the physiognomist, he asked him if he knew who he was? The man

replied that he did not, but that he knew one thing respecting him. The Caliph desired to know what that was; and the physiognomist said: "If the youth who is with him be his son, there will come forth from his loins a number of Pharaohs destined to possess the earth and slay whoever attempts to resist them!" On hearing these words, Abd-alMalek turned pale and said, "A monk from Aileh who once saw him with me, pretended that thirteen kings should come forth from his loins, and he described to me the appearance of each."

The house of Abbas had, however, up to this time made no pretence of a claim to the Caliphate. They had not been elected by popular suffrage, neither were they descendants of Ali. Their claim, if they had put forth any, would have been rejected by Sunni and Shia alike. They got over this difficulty with much ingenuity. The authority of the Imamate, they said, had been transferred to them in this manner. On the death of Hoosain—the victim of Kerbela—the office of Imam had passed to his brother, another son of Ali, named Muhammad Ibn al Hanifiya. On the death of Muhammad it passed to his son Abû Hashim; and Abû Hashim having no children of his own, when on his death-bed sent for Abu Abdallah Muhammad and invested him with the dignity of Imam, who, in his turn, transmitted it to his sons.

This story was scouted by the Shias, and with excellent reason. The dignity of Imam is inseparable from the "People of the House," i.e., the lineal descendants of the Prophet, through his daughter Fatima, and Ali her husband. It is this double connection with the Prophet—the affinity of love, not less than the affinity of blood, which gave to the twelve Imams their rights to the allegiance of the faithful. Now Muhammad ibn-al Hanifiya never could have been the Imam, because he was not the son of Fatima, but of Ali and a female slave. On the death of Hoosain, the dignity of Imam passed to his son Abûl Hasan Ali, surnamed Zain-al-Aibadin, (*the ornament of the adorers*), and the validity of this transmission was further confirmed by miracle. For on the death of Hoosain, Muhammad did assert his claim to the Imamate, and with the consent of Zan-al-Aibadin their respective claims were referred to the decision of the black stone, which replied in *excellent Arabic* that Zain-al-Aibadin was the true Imam. This last point may admit of doubt, but it is quite clear without its assistance that the Abbasides had no right whatever to aspire to the position of the Caliph. They felt this themselves; and though their missionaries were disseminated far and wide through Islam, the work of proselytism was not carried on in their name. They professed, like the Shias, to advocate the cause of the "the People of the House." By this means they deceived the people; and in Khorasan especially, they

won over thousands of adherents who believed themselves to be fighting for the house of Ali. When in after times reproached with these perjuries, the Abbasides retorted, not without an appearance of reason, that they too were "People of the House," seeing that their ancestor Abbas, and Abdallah, the father of the Prophet, were brothers.

It was in the hundredth year after the Hejira, that the cloud no bigger than a man's hand first appeared above the horizon in Khorasan. Nasser Seyaur, the Governor of that Province, had kindled a spirit of revolt among the Arab tribes who garrisoned that portion of Islam; and the supineness of the reigning Caliph Merwan, who treated with indifference all his appeals for reinforcements, gave time for discontent to assume the character of a revolution. This was the exact contingency the partisans of the Abbasides had been waiting for. Their leader in Khorasan was Abû Moslem, an emancipated slave, but a man also of tremendous energy, though pitiless and cruel even beyond the measure of his age. He is one of the most striking personalities to be met with in oriental history; "low in stature," says a contemporary, "of a tawny complexion, with handsome features and engaging manners; he was never observed to laugh; the gravest events could hardly disturb the serenity of his countenance; he received news of the most important victories without expressing the least symptom of joy; under the greatest reverses of fortune he never betrayed the slightest uneasiness; and when angered he never lost his self control." Abu Moslem perceived that now was the moment to strike. He gathered his secret adherents around him, and made common cause with the malcontents of Khorasan. The cause was proclaimed to be the rights of "the People of the House" against the usurpations of the Ommeiyides. A short time previously a grandson of the Imam Zain-al-Aibadin had been executed on a charge of rebellion, and his body exposed upon a gibbet. This gave Abu Moslem the opportunity of concealing his real purpose, and effectually deceiving the adherents of the Ali. The remains were taken down, and buried with every possible mark of honour, and as a symbol at once of their grief and their resolve to be revenged, Abu Moslem ordered his followers to clothe themselves in black—which colour remained ever after the distinguishing insignia of the House of Abbas. It would take us too far from our proper subject to trace in detail the course of the revolution. Suffice to say that after a great deal of fierce fighting, the partisans of the Caliph Merwan were swept clean out of Khorasan, and the black banners of the rebellion entered Irak. Nothing as yet had been divulged of the ultimate purpose of the movement. "The People of the House" was the watchword everywhere proclaimed, and it

ensured at least the neutrality of the Shia, where it did not obtain his active co-operation. But at length, the city of Cufah—the very stronghold and centre of the family of Ali—was delivered over by a sort of popular vote to the chiefs of the insurrection, and the policy of concealment could be maintained no longer. The excitable populace of Cufah were wrought up to the highest pitch of impatience and curiosity, as Hasan Kotbah—the lieutenant of of Abu Moslem filed into the city at the head of his troops. Rumour of course was busy with her hundred tongues as to the next event in the great drama unfolding before them. Kotbah continued to dissimulate to the last moment. Abu Selmah Jaffier—the agent for the Family of the Prophet, waited upon him, and was received with all possible ceremony and honor. A joint proclamation was issued in his name and in that of Kotbah, inviting the inhabitants to meet next day at the principal mosque. At the appointed hour, the mosque was crowded, not a person of respectability stayed away. The object of the assembly had been studiously concealed, and the curiosity of the multitude was intense. It was however doomed to remain yet awhile unsatisfied, Abu Selmah, after conducting the public prayer as usual, simply prorogued the assembly, requesting all who could mount a horse or put on armour to appear the next day in the same place arrayed in black, to swear allegiance to the new Caliph. The delay was necessary to gain time for the work of secret corruption to be brought to a successful conclusion. Abu Selmah was won over, and probably, though it is not expressly stated, most of the principal men of the city. The fickleness of the people of Cufah had passed into a proverb. Like the men of Athens, the people of Cufah seemed to have spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing. Stiff in opinions, and always in the wrong—at least always insisting upon the logic of their convictions at utterly inappropriate seasons,—they were "every thing by turns and nothing long." Ever since the death of Ali, they had never ceased to fluctuate between two opinions—now espousing the cause of his family, and shedding their blood like so much water in its defence—then with a sudden revulsion of feeling, abandoning them to slaughter, nay, even actively aiding in their destruction. Their loyalty to the Imam had invariably proved to be but the kisses of a Delilah luring her victim to his death; and they were about to give the most memorable illustration of this infidelity, which seems to have proceeded more from a constitutional instability of temperament than from deliberate treachery.

On the next morning at break of day the whole of Cufah appeared completely shrouded in black; the people hastened to the mosque in prodigious crowds, in black turbans and vestures, and

with black banners floating above them. In due time, Abu Selmah appeared also clothed in black. After leading the prayers he turned to the people and asked of them if they were willing to acquiesce in the act he was about to make known to them. They demanded an explanation. He then proceeded to say that Abu Moslem, the leader of the insurrection, had determined to deliver the world from the tyranny of the House of Ommeya. With this purpose in view he had sought for a new leader in Islam, but had discovered nowhere, a person so eminent for piety and ability as Ali, the son of Muhammad, the great grandson of Abbas, of the House of Hashim, and of the Family of the Prophet. Him, therefore, he had selected, and he now hoped that his choice would be confirmed by the approbation of the Faithful in Cufah. The air was rent with the shouts of the applauding multitude; the assembly declared with the voice of one man that the choice must have been the result of a divine inspiration; and the awful shout of "God is most powerful" was caught up and repeated again and again by the enthusiastic crowd.

This lucky Ali was at this very moment concealed in Kufah in the house of Abu Selmah, and a messenger was despatched to bring him. He soon appeared, clothed from head to foot in sable garments, and riding upon a she-camel. He ascended the pulpit and delivered an address, setting forth his zeal for Islam, and his rights to the Imámate. A few days before he would assuredly have been destroyed as a heretic had he ventured to claim the dignity of Imam in a Cufah mosque, but that time was past. For the moment, at least, the people of Cufah were anything rather than critical; and the young Caliph had no sooner quitted the pulpit, than the frantic crowd trampled each other down in their endeavours to get forward, and proffer—each man personally—their allegiance to their new sovereign. This scene took place on Friday, 12th of the first Rebi. A.H. 132, (28th October A.D. 749).

The proceeding at Cufah at last aroused the Caliph Merwan from his unaccountable apathy. He marched out of Damascus to give battle to the insurgents. Like all the sovereigns of his family, Merwan was a soldier of distinguished courage and skill; and but for an accident he might yet have suppressed the revolt. The two armies fronted each other in the vicinity of Cufah, and the battle was just joining when Merwan's horse broke loose from the attendant holding it, and galloped riderless through the ranks of the army. Believing their leader to be killed, the Caliph's troops flung away their arms and fled in every direction. No further resistance was made. The march of the Abbasides to Damascus was a triumphal progress. The cities every where flung open their gates, and the inhabitants clothed in black received the victorious troops with shouts and acclamations.

Even Damascus submitted without an attempt at resistance. The unhappy Merwan, in the meanwhile, with the wreck of his army, had fled through Syria and Palestine and reached the confines of Egypt. Ten thousand men followed hard upon his traces. He retreated, burning and wasting the country behind him, until he reached Fostât, the ancient capital of Egypt. But fatigue and despair had diminished the number of his followers; he continued his flight along the Western bank of the Nile, his attendants falling away at every march, until he was left with only a single domestic. He had laid down to take a little rest in a small Christian chapel, when the place was surrounded by his pursuers. Determined to sell his life dearly, the fallen Caliph rushed out sword in hand, and fell transfixed with a lance. Thus perished the last Eastern Caliph of the House of Ommeya.

Abdallah, the uncle of the Abbaside Caliph, had in the meanwhile, assumed the government of Damascus and as soon as he received intelligence of the death of Merwan, he proclaimed his nephew the sole legitimate Caliph in Islam. The Ommeyides, terrified and hopeless, sought only to conceal themselves. Abdallah, however, had contrived a snare to get them into his power. He caused a general amnesty to be published for all members of the House of Ommeya, and all partisans who would repair to the palace, and take an oath of allegiance to the new Caliph. The adherents of the fallen dynasty rejoiced at this unlooked for clemency, and came in great numbers, to the palace. There were no less than eighty kinsmen and relatives of the late Caliph, besides a crowd of followers and attendants. The treacherous Abdallah mingled in the assemble with a smiling and friendly expression of countenance. But while he appeared to dispose himself, so as to receive the homage of the unsuspecting chiefs, his soldiers also formed a circle round the Ommeyides. At a preconcerted signal they fell upon their victims, beating them to the ground with blows from heavy maces. A single member of the family alone effected an escape; and simultaneously with the slaughter within the palace, the servants and followers outside were pitilessly massacred. When all was over, or seemed to be, Abdallah ordered the eighty bodies to be arraigned in rows, and covered with planks. On this dreadful table, a gorgeous banquet was then spread for his officers and chief men, to heighten their rejoicing so he said, with "the last gasps of the Ommeyides." This atrocious massacre, though perpetrated by his uncle, obtained for the young Caliph the title of "the Bloodshedder."

But a dynasty founded upon treachery, and cemented by innocent blood, lacked every element of stability. This the Princes of the House of Abbas perceived clearly enough; but the only remedy that seemed to suggest itself was to persevere in the

barbarous policy they had adopted. The adherents of the Ommeiydes were slaughtered wherever found; the descendants of Ali were put to death, and their property confiscated upon the smallest pretexts; and the jails were crowded with political prisoners awaiting their sentence. These harsh measures engendered rebellion as a matter of course; revolts produced reprisals; and reprisals only served to intensify animosities already burning at a white heat. The Arab tribes in Syria were devoted partisans of the expelled dynasty; and their unceasing revolts, their bitter and unrelenting hostility, compelled the Abbasides to abandon Damascus—the ancient capital of Islam—for the new city of Baghdad. The Shias were not less active. In the year 145 (A.D. 762) Mubarrimad, a great grandson of the Imam Hoosain raised the standard of revolt in the Hejaz, put to death all the representatives of the Caliph Al Mansur, and was prayed for as the legitimate Imam in the sacred cities of Mecca and Medina. This sedition was still unquelled when Ibrahim, the brother of this Mubarrimad persuaded the inconstant people of Cufah to cast aside the black garments they had donned so recently, and with such frantic enthusiasm, and range themselves once again on the side of the veritable people of the house. The death of Ibrahim by a chance arrow put an end to this rebellion. The turbulent spirit then broke forth in Khorasan; Mokanna, the celebrated "veiled prophet of Khorasan" filled the valley of the Sogd with the clamour of war. The fearful severities of the Caliph Al Haudy succeeded in obtaining a brief respite; but Harun Al Rashid had no sooner mounted the throne, than the flames of civil war broke out once more. At Mecca and Medina, and in the inaccessible province of Tabreez, partisans of the House of Ali drove out the representatives of the Baghdad Government; and up to the very day of Harun's death, large portions of Islam were in open revolt against him.*

* We know of few events in history more ghastly and terrible than the death of this cruel and vindictive monarch,—almost the worst, if not the very worst, of all the Caliphs. An insurrection had broken out in Khorasan under the leadership of one Raueffia. In one of the engagements, the troops of the Caliphs made a prisoner of Besheir, Raueffia's brother. He was sent to Tons, where Haroun Al Rashid lay upon a bed of sickness in daily expectation of death. "Thou adversary of God!" said the dying Caliph, as the prisoner was brought into his presence, "by thy malice and that of thy brother in subverting my authority in Khorasan have I been com-

pelled to undertake this painful journey. But by Him who created Haroun, thou shalt perish by a death so painful, that its agonies shall infinitely surpass all that has ever yet been known." Then dying as he was he sent for the executioner, and ordered him there and then to dissect the prisoner, limb from limb. Each member as it was separated from the agonised body was laid before the revengeful Caliph, piece by piece to the number of fourteen,—the object being to protract suffering to the last possible degree, before the actual extinction of consciousness. The deed accomplished, Haroun swooned away, and died two days after:

The contest for the Caliphate between the two sons of Harun—Al Amin, and Al Mamun—roused all the early hopes, and more than the first enthusiasm, of the Shias. They broke out in Khorasan, in Busora, in the Hejaz and in Yemen. The Hejaz and Yemen *never* after yielded more than a nominal submission to the house of Abbas. They remained a secure refuge for the partisans of Ali, and put themselves under the rule of the Fatimite Caliphs as soon as that dynasty established itself in Egypt. The Caliph Al Mamun—a liberal and far-seeing potentate—felt that these internal convulsions, unless appeased at once, must speedily rend the Empire into fragments. The policy of persecution had been tried and failed utterly. He determined to have recourse to the policy of conciliation. The living representative of the house of Ali at this time was Abûl Hasan Ali, the eighth Imam. To him Mamun gave the surname *Ar Rida* or *the accepted*, as signifying the destiny in store for him; gave him his daughter Omm Habib in marriage; caused his name to be inscribed on the currency in conjunction with his own, and proclaimed him as his future successor to the dignity of the Caliphate. But the Abbasides of Irak were not prepared to fall in with this policy of renunciation. They declared Mamun to be, *ipso facto*, deposed, and transferred their allegiance to his uncle, Ibrahim Ibn Al Mahdi. *This caused Mamun* to quit Meru and march in all haste to Baghdad. The "Accepted" in the most opportune manner died during the march, and as Mamun in after days obtained a very disagreeable notoriety by the murder of any one who stood in his way, it is not surprising to find that he was suspected of poisoning the Imam, as the easiest means of cutting the knot of his difficulties. At any rate the death of *Ar Rida* had the happiest results. Baghdad opened her gates without opposition; the temporary Caliph Ibrahim retired precipitately into private life, remaining hidden for three years in the disguise of a woman; Mamun, for his part, resumed the black garments and other insignia of the house of Abbas, and nothing more was heard of a restoration of the house of Ali. But this momentary glimpse of the desired haven had necessarily the effect of adding a fresh sting to the bitterness of defeat. The Shias became, if possible, more utterly implacable than ever. The insurrection of Babek, which was not put down till long after the death of Mamun, the wars of the Carmathians, and finally the rise of the Fatimites denote the growing strength of the Shia, the decreasing vigour of the Sunni. The death of the "Martyr" Hoosain was, in truth, bloodily avenged. Until both parties fell crushed beneath the mace of the Mongol, the history of Islam is little else than the history of a long religious war between these two opposing sects. The rise of "the assassins" marks its culminating point.

But these repeated outbreaks had also other effects which completely altered the character of the Caliphate, and gradually eradicated Arab rule out of Central Asia. These insurrections were all along strictly Arabic in their character. The vanquished populations took little or no interest in these nice points about the Imamate. And the repeated defeats and sweeping reprisals had the effect of gradually weeding the Arabic element out of Central Asia ; and compelling the Caliphs to seek for more loyal subjects among the conquered races. This, again, had the double result of converting the Caliph himself, from an Arab chief into a Despot of the old Persian type ; and of making Baghdad the scene of that splendid but transient revival of letters, which has won for the Arabs' their chief place in the gratitude of posterity. This revival was not, however, of an Arabic character at all, but a combination of Greek and Syrian ; and had its origin in the mental activity inspired by fragments of Aristotle and Plato translated by Christians of Syria, first into Syriac, and then into Arabic.

For the first hundred years after the conquest of Asia by the Arabs, the policy of persecution on account of religion was of course carried out against the conquered peoples, who did not embrace Islamism ; and more especially against the Christians. They were treated very much as the Jews were dealt with in Christendom ; though the balance of toleration is, we think, rather in favour of the Muhammadan. Not only by actual exclusion from every post, however subordinate, under Government, but by every kind of ingenious humiliation they were made to feel their infinite inferiority to the Faithful. "The *Zimmis*" (i.e., unbelievers, but mainly Christians) says one of several *Fatwas* we have seen, "are not to ride on horses or mules, or valuable asses ; and they are on no account to make use of highly ornamented saddles. The *Zimmis* are not to collect together in the public roads for purposes of conversation ; they are not to walk along the pathway so as to encumber the free progress of the Faithful ; they are not to be permitted to speak with a loud voice in the presence of the Faithful ; neither are they permitted to have servants following them ; and still less are they to have domestics clearing the road before them. They are on no account to wear fine clothing, but to go about in public attired in plain and coarse garments ; their houses must not rise higher than those of the Moslems about them, and they are not permitted to decorate the exteriors. It is the duty of the Princes in Islam, to whom God has given authority, to forbid all such practices, and to punish and chastise those who continue to practise them." The manner of paying the tribute or head-tax imposed on all unbelievers is laid down as follows :—"The *Zimmi*, Christian or Jew, shall go in person, upon the day fixed, and not

by the agency of a *vakeel*, to the house of the official charged with the duty of collecting the poll-tax; the latter is to be seated on an elevated dais; in fashion like a throne; the *Zimmi* will come forward, carrying the tax in the palm of his hand; from whence the officer will take it in such a manner that his hand shall be above, and that of the *Zimmi* below. After this, the officer will strike the *Zimmi* a blow with his fist on the nape of his neck; and a man will stand ready near the officer, thereupon to hustle the *Zimmi* forcibly out of the room; then a second, then a third, presenting themselves in like manner, will be subjected to similar treatment as well as all who shall follow. All the Faithful shall be admitted to enjoy this spectacle. It shall not be permitted to any of them to employ a deputy for the payment of this tax; it is necessary that they should experience, each in his own person, this mark of humiliation; because, perhaps, they will thereby be brought to believe in God and his Prophet."

To the unspeakable scandal of the Faithful this wholesome and righteous discipline began to fall into disuse with the accession of the Abbasides. These Princes had enemies they hated and dreaded worse than the *Zimmis*, and they devised the policy of playing the one off against the other. Al Mânstr, the second of the line, appears to have initiated the new practice. He made use of Christian agency to establish a system of espionage over the adherents of the fallen house; and the Muhammadaus of his time who had hitherto had the exclusive privilege of oppressing whom they pleased, are loud in their outcries over the intolerable sufferings of the Faithful under this new system. We read, indeed, occasionally of this or that Caliph, impelled by the threats and lamentations of the orthodox, making half-hearted endeavours to put matters back on their old footing. But it was now beyond the power of man to do so. The few simple rules of government laid down in the Koran were altogether insufficient to meet the complex needs of a vast empire. The Arabs, clinging pertinaciously to the tribe life of the desert were utterly incompetent to cope with these new difficulties or even to understand them. It was at this juncture that the conquered races—the Syrians and Persians—came forward with the offer of their services. The one under the old Persian Kings, the other under the monarchs of Constantinople, had acquired that practical acquaintance with the art of government which was lacking to the Arab. They undertook to make the seemingly inflexible Koran adapt itself to the new and unforeseen order of things. By their combined ingenuity—and the happy idea of collecting together the traditional sayings of the Prophet, and placing them on a level with the Koran in authority—the old formulas were made to stretch so as to cover the new facts. This is the explanation of the circumstance

noted by Ibn Khaldoun in his *Prolegomena*. "It is," he says, "a curious circumstance that the majority of the learned amongst the Moslems belonged to a foreign race; very few persons of Arabian descent having obtained distinction in the sciences connected with the law or in those based upon human reason; and yet the promulgator of the law was an Arab, and the Koran, that source of so many sciences, an Arabic work."

Every succeeding reign saw Jews, Christians, and Persians assuming that legitimate influence which belongs to superior intellect; and the Muhammadan writers complain loudly that before the death of Mamun, they had almost everywhere supplanted the Faithful, and filled the highest offices in all the Provinces. But this contact with mental activity moving outside of the narrow circle of Islamism inspired the liberal and inquiring mind of Mamun with a passionate eagerness in the hunt after knowledge. He had philosophical *conversazioni* in his palace, which are thus described by an amazed and utterly scandalised Muhammadan. "At the first *séance* I attended, not only were there present Moslems of every sect, orthodox and heterodox, but mis-believers, fire-worshippers, materialists, atheists, Jews, Christians—, in a word, sceptics of every kind. Each sect had its own chief, charged to defend the opinions it professed; and every time that one of these chiefs entered the hall, all present arose in sign of respect, and not a man resumed his seat until the new comer had taken his. The hall was soon filled, and when the assembly was complete, one of the unbelievers spoke as follows:—'We are,' said he, 'assembled here together for the purpose of discussion; you all understand the conditions; you others, you Moslems, are not to meet us by reasons taken from your Book or founded on the authority of your Prophet; as we believe in neither the one nor the other. Every one is to limit himself to arguments based upon that reason that is common to all.' Every one applauded these words." "You can imagine," says the teller of this story, "that having heard such things I did not remain in that assembly."* Out of the confluence of these different convictions arose a party in Islam,—the sect of the Motazales—which resembled in many points, the Broad Church Party in the English Church. The orthodox belief regarding the Koran answers in some respect to that regarding the Bible which is held by the believers in verbal inspiration. The Koran is said to be the very word of God, eternal and uncreated, remaining, as some express it, in the very essence of God. Everything that is in it is

* This particular *séance* did not take place until after Mamun's death, but as it exactly resembles those which originated with him, we have quoted the above passage in the present connection.

imposed upon the believer, by one divine authority, and to offend in the least is as bad as to offend in the greatest. As we pointed out in our first paper, a belief of this kind is simply the death-warrant of progress. The man or the nation possessed by it, sinks inevitably into imbecility, as an iron fetter will gradually eat into the limb it enchains. The Motazales strove to liberate the conscience from this iron bondage. They held that Muhammad was himself the author of the Koran, and that being such the precepts in that book were amenable to change and even to complete abrogation; they denied the absolute predestination of mankind, asserting man to be a free agent, and God not the author of evil but of good only; they protested that there could be no saving efficacy in the mere profession of the Unity, but that a (so called) believer who committed sin would assuredly be punished hereafter, however unimpeachable his orthodoxy might be.

Centuries of progression lay, germ-like, in these propositions could they ever have filtered down, and struck their roots in the hearts of the people. But they never did. The literature that can raise a people to a higher level of thought and action must be born, as it were, from the bosom of the people themselves. The Truth which it seeks to inculcate may—nay, must—be capable of universal application; but the form must be intensely national. The combination of these two seemingly antagonistic types of character has been the distinctive characteristic of all the greatest thinkers, from Homer to the present day; and therein lies the secret of their power and their immortal life. There is only one Eastern nation, the Jewish, which has produced a literature of this kind; and they are the one Eastern people who can, with truth, be honoured with the name of "nation"—the one Eastern people who have been conscious of a *national purpose* which preserved them from generation to generation, as a living organism. The teaching of Psalmists and Prophets is as wide and deep as human nature, because it has its roots in a profound and fervent patriotism. The Koran could never produce anything akin to this; it resolves mankind into a multitude of isolated units,—cunningly contrived pieces of mechanism, worked by an inscrutable Fate. The Christian idea of a guiding and illuminating spirit holding secret converse with the hearts of men, and leading them towards the light which has had such potent effects in Europe, by casting, as it were, a mysterious and sanctifying glory around all intellectual products, could only enter surreptitiously into the heart of a good Moslem. "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is His Prophet" implied that apart from the Koran there was no pathway open to a knowledge of the Deity. The denizens of this world were either believers or

unbelievers ; and there was an end of the whole matter. The one would go to heaven, and the other to hell.

The literature of Baghdad was far too artificial a product to have a chance of rooting itself in such an unpromising soil. It sprang out of no pressing spiritual needs ; it possessed no originality ; it was servilely imitative ;—nothing more in fact than a carefully nurtured exotic to ornament the palace of an Eastern despot. It never took, and never was intended to take a practical turn or to become a guide for conduct ; and the glimpses of truth struck out here and there, were almost instantaneously lost in the mists of allegory, or vanished down the abysses of mysticism. But with this uprising of Persian and Syrian elements there came also a corresponding change in the position and authority of the Caliph. These subject races, both by immemorial tradition and early education had a profound and abject veneration for the person of the sovereign. The ancient Kings of Persia, the old Cæsars of Rome had been always regarded by them as beings more than human, and they soon succeeded in investing the Caliph of Islam with the same preternatural attributes. The Arab withdrew in deep disgust from the servile ceremonial which expressed this new conception of royal authority to the freedom of his native deserts, and Asia became the prey of a new master, far more fierce and inhuman. The people of Syria and Persia could elevate their sovereign to the position of a God ; but enervated by centuries of despotic rule, they were powerless to defend him: For such a purpose the Caliphs needed men, like the Arabs, inured to hardship and exposure, indifferent to bloodshed and strong in heart and limb. These they found in the Turcomans.

The name of Tartary has been given in Europe to that immense region extending almost entirely across Asia from the Caspian Sea to the Eastern Ocean. The most Eastern Division of Tartary is the country of the Mantchous which fills up the interval between China and Siberia, having the Sea of Japan as its Eastern boundary and the Hingun Mountains on the West. On the Western limits of this division commence the almost boundless plains roamed over by the tribes of Mongolia ; and to the West again of Mongolia, is Independent Tartary, comprising Bokhara, Khiva, Khokand, and other small States. It was this part of Asia that was the home of the Turcomans. According to the learned Chinese scholar De Guignes, the ancestors of these Turks or Turcomans were a people dwelling to the north of the Northern Provinces of China, and known to ancient Chinese Historians as "the Barbarians of the Mountains." Two thousands years, he tells us, before the birth of Christ we obtain our first glimpse of this people, living in tents pitched upon carts, and moving in these travelling

houses along the banks of the rivers, and over the plains which promised to furnish the best pasture for their flocks. For the next fifteen hundred years only some fitful gleams—few and far between—illuminate the obscurity of Chinese History, but we can discern by the uncertain glimmer vast hordes of these barbarians entering the Northern Provinces of China, and spreading misery and devastation in every direction. The Great wall of China was constructed (B.C. 210) as a protection against their terrible raids. When at length the darkness has altogether been dissipated we find these barbarians, united into a great and powerful nation under a single sovereign. For two centuries and a half they continued to be the scourge of the Chinese dominions. Advance towards civilisation they made none. They practised none of the arts of a sedentary life. They built no cities: they carried on no trade. They lived by plunder; their amusements were the chase and the foray. In their dreadful and monotonous history, as depicted to us by the marvellous industry of De Guignes, we hear of nothing year after year but huge swarms of horsemen, traversing the country, either pursuing or pursued, harrying, plundering and burning. So it goes on until the close of the first century after Christ, when the reader is greatly rejoiced to find that the Barbarians have fallen into a disunited and utterly feeble condition—that on all their frontiers, swarms of infuriated Chinese are pressing in,—that a terrible famine has come in to aid the avengers—that one great battle after another utterly breaks up their power, and terminates "the Empire of the Huns" after a duration of about 1323 years. The very name of Huns was lost and forgotten; a portion of the conquered people being absorbed into other tribes, and a portion finding new homes for themselves in what we now call Western or Independent Tartary, where they became known by the name of "Turks."

It was not until nearly the close of the first century after the Hejira that the banners of Islam were carried into the regions beyond the Oxus and, only after a great deal of hard fighting that the Oases of Bokhara and Samarkand were annexed to the dominions of the Caliph. In these struggles a large number of Turks, men, women, and children, were necessarily made prisoners, and disseminated as slaves through Asia. The women were remarkable for their beauty. "Ah!" sighs Hafiz, in one of his prettiest lyrics; "If that Turkish girl of Shiraz would but take possession of my heart, I would give for the black mole on her cheek the riches of Samarkand and Bokhara." The men were remarkable for their commanding stature, their courage in the field, and their extraordinary capacity for affairs. In course of time they were converted to the Muhammadan faith, and there being no exclusive aristocracy or govern-

ing class in Islam, they frequently rose to positions of trust and importance. Their numbers too multiplied apace, and when the Arabs deserted them, the Caliphs sought for soldiers among these new subjects. As early as the Caliphate of Al Mansur—the second of the Abbasides—two Turkish officers had been enrolled in the Imperial Service, and these probably had subordinates of the same race under them. Half a century later the fierce wars which attended the accession of Mamun compelled him to recruit his armies largely from the same human reservoir; and under the reign of his brother and successor Mutassem, the main part of the army and the entire bodyguard of the Caliph were composed of Turks. Their numbers are said to have exceeded seventy thousand. A more formidable apparition in the midst of a feeble and nerveless populace it would be difficult to imagine. The Aral was a fierce untameable savage enough, but he did acknowledge the restrictive power of certain rules. He was possessed by a profound veneration for the person of the Caliph. He confessed, however imperfectly, that he was the worker-out of a purpose not altogether his own.* These and similar counteracting influences, against the simple law of the strongest, contributed greatly to mitigate the lot of the vanquished. But the Turk was merely an astute barbarian who embraced Islamism because it *paid* him to do so. He had no reverence for the weak and helpless Despot he was intended to defend, and the sacred city of Baghdad was nothing to him, but a vast store house of treasure, which, as the strongest element there, he had an undoubted right to plunder. The Turks speedily began to exercise a frightful tyranny over the people; who in revenge murdered every Turkish soldier they happened to meet alone. The animosity reached such a height that the Caliph Al Mutassem, fearing for his life, abandoned Baghdad, and took up his abode at Samarra, eighty or a hundred miles to the north of that city. His depar-

* The following story may be quoted as an illustration. Omar, the ninth Caliph of the House of Ommeya, sent a circular letter to the Governors of Provinces, cautioning them against admitting *Zimmis* to any of the State offices because, as he said, there could be "neither judgment nor experience among those who provoke the anger of God and of the Prophet." "He wrote also," our authority tells us, "to Haijan, his Lieutenant in Egypt, to conform to these orders." The latter replied in these words; "O Prince of Believers! if such a state of things endures for any time in Egypt all the

Zimmis will become Moslems, and the revenues will be lost which they bring to the Imperial Treasury." Omar sent a special Commissioner to Haijan, charged with this order, "strike Haijan thirty blows on the head with a whip as a punishment for the wicked words he has uttered; and tell him that every soul who shall embrace Islamism shall be exempted from the capitation tax. I should be beyond measure happy if all the *Zimmis* became Moslems, for God sent His Prophet to do the work of an Apostle, not to act as a Collector of taxes."

ture removed the last restraint on the excesses of the soldiery. The city struggled fiercely for a time against its savage tyrants, and again and again the streets ran red with the blood shed in the desperate conflicts between the populace and the soldiery. But recruits kept pouring in from beyond the frontier to fill up the gaps occasioned by these street-fights, and the Turkish yoke fixed itself too firmly to be shaken off. The Turkish militia crowned this first act of their career, by the murder of the Caliph Al Mutawakel, the son of Mutassem; and from that time the Turkish Generals were the virtual rulers of Islam. They deposed one Caliph and set up another precisely as they pleased; they compelled one Caliph to resign his dignity by exposing him bareheaded to the sun until he consented; they cut another in pieces with their swords; they killed a third by exposure in the snow, and pouring snow water on his head until he perished miserably. These violent measures were the result of an insatiable greed after money. The highest offices in the State were put up to sale by auction; Caliphs were murdered because some one or other had made an advantageous proposal if he were elected to the next vacancy; and the Turkish Governor of Baghdad actually allowed a celebrated robber, Hamdi, to exercise his profession without restraint, clothing him at the same time with a robe of honour, in return for a monthly payment of 25,000 dinars. The Turkish soldiery in the meanwhile were left without pay, or rather with a tacit permission to get their pay how they could. The most frightful disorders ensued. The soldiery broke open the prisons, and set free the criminals; the roads were beset with robbers; and the houses of the wealthy were repeatedly pillaged with impunity. In A.D. 942, a terrible famine desolated the country round, and the city of Baghdad; the mortality was so great that the dead were flung, without rites or ceremony, into a common trench. The very wives of the Caliph fled famished from the Harem, and sat by the road side to implore the passengers for a morsel of food; even the eating of human flesh is said to have become a common practice. At this fearful time the Turkish Generals did not scruple to levy an enormous tax on wheat, barley, and vegetables, though the prices were already enormous; while, to crown all, the unpaid soldiery spread over the *environs* of the city and carried off the harvest just as it was ripe for the sickle.*

* The Oriental Historian is, in general, so completely absorbed in the contemplation of kings and great men and their doings, that he rarely has the time to take a glance at the common people. The condition of the people of Baghdad during the dismal

rule of the Turks has to be painfully pieced together from a few casual expressions in half-a-dozen historians, but the following note which we find among our papers, will give some idea of the treatment the people met with in those days, and so serve to illustrate

While rapine and disorder thus had their full swing in Baghdad, the empire of the Caliph had fallen into pieces. Arabia had long ago renounced her allegiance; the Fatimites ruled Northern Africa; the descendants of a Turkish slave reigned with unrestricted authority over Egypt. The three sons of Buiah, a Dilemite fisherman were the monarchs of Persia, Tabarestan, Georgia, and Mazanderan. The Samanides—a family sprung from a highway robber, governed all Khorasan, and the country beyond the Oxus, with Bokhara as their capital. The Karmathian Princes issuing from Hasa carried fire and sword up to the very gates of Baghdad. At last (A.H. 334, A.D. 945) some of the chief citizens of Baghdad determined to adopt measure to rid themselves of the intolerable tyranny of these Turkish mercenaries. They held secret conferences on the subject. The princes of the house of Buiah were at this time renowned through Asia for their enterprise, courage, and uniform good fortune. To one of these, Ahmed, they secretly despatched a deputation entreating him to come with speed and deliver them. Shirzad—the Turkish *Emir-ul Omra*—fled at his approach, carrying the Caliph with him, and ordering the Turkish militia to follow. The inhabitants threw open the gates to the young prince, and hailed him as their liberator.

The good order which Ahmed established in Baghdad, the respect he publicly and repeatedly testified for the absent Caliph—the

the sufferings of Baghdad. "During the residence of Tash at Jurjan (A.H. 379) his officers and chief ministers had grievously oppressed the people with fines and requisitions though pestilence and famine were sore in the land. As soon as the news of Tash's death was spread in the city, the populace rose in a mass, and made a furious attack upon the house where the corpse lay. The officers and soldiery fled, and effected their escape from the city only after a severe fight. They halted at a desert place at some distance from Jurjan. The mob, in the meantime, wild with hunger and rage poured out from the city to extirpate their oppressors. But in the open field the soldiers were too strong for them. "The bellies of the wolves," says the historian, "were filled with the carcases of the dead," and the slaughter was not stayed until the Imams of the City, with other learned and devout men hurried out bearing Korans, and flung themselves be-

tween the soldiers and the people. As soon as the insurrection was reported at Ispahan, an officer was sent to Jurjan with powers to investigate and punish. Three thousand of the citizens he seized and hung out of hand, as a preliminary measure calculated to restore confidence. Then an inquiry was commenced; and every one, says our authority, was put to death "who during his whole life had for one day taken up an iron weapon, or had made use of weaver's shovels or such things for the purpose of offence." Some of the poor wretches were nailed to trees, others shot to death with arrows, others slain by the executioner's sword; and so "that affair was settled, and the insurrection of these base creatures and originators of injury and malice came to an end. But God knows what is just."

Tarikh-i-Yamini, Reynold's Trans.
P. 110.

eagerness he affected to feel for his speedy return—were of course soon made known to the absent sovereign—Mocatafi. He contrived to elude the vigilance of his captors, and returned to the capital. Ahmed received him with the greatest respect and loyalty; and Mocatafi on his side loaded him with favours, and spared nothing which could testify to the depth and vivacity of his gratitude. He changed Ahmed's name to *Moezz-eddaulah*, which signifies *He who causes the State to flourish*. He publicly constituted him the *Emir-ul-Omra*, or chief guardian of the State; he added to that dignity new and excessive prerogatives; he caused Moezz-eddaulah to be clothed in a royal robe, and, himself, placed a diadem upon his head; coin was struck in his name, and his name mentioned in the public prayers, immediately after that of the Caliph. This act is important in the History of Islam, as the public and formal abrogation by the Caliph of all direct participation in civil affairs. He lived, thenceforth, in a mysterious seclusion—the Pontiff of Islam. The contact with Persian thought had gradually invested him in the popular mind, with certain supernatural gifts and attributes which did not belong to the first successors of the Prophet. He was, for example, the sole source of authority, in so much that Mahmud of Ghuznee at the very height of his power, felt that his greatness had no legitimate foundation until he had sought and obtained investiture at the hands of the Caliph. Only once a year was the sacred Person of the Imam of Islam exhibited to the gaze of the vulgar. This solitary public appearance has been described by Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad about this time—most probably, indeed, in the life-time of Mocatafi. "The Caliph," he says, "leaves his palace but once every year, viz., at the time of the feast called Ramadan; on which occasion many visitors assemble from distant parts in order to have an opportunity of beholding his countenance. He then bestrides the royal mule, dressed in kingly robes, which are composed of gold and silver cloth. On his head he wears a turban, ornamented with precious stones of inestimable value; but over this turban is thrown a black veil, as a sign of humility, and as much as to say: "See all this worldly honour will be converted into darkness on the day of death." He is accompanied by a numerous retinue of Muhammadan nobles arrayed in rich dresses and riding upon horses, Princes of Arabia, of Media, of Persia, and even of Thibet, a country distant three months' journey from Arabia. The procession goes from the palace to the mosque at the Bozra Gate, which is the metropolitan mosque. All who walk in procession, both men and women, are dressed in silk and purple. The streets and squares are enlivened with singing and rejoicing, and by parties who dance before the great King,

called Caliph. He is saluted loudly by the assembled crowd who cry: "Blessed art thou, our Lord and King!" He thereupon kisses his garment, and by holding it in his hand, acknowledges and returns the compliment. The procession moves on to the court of the mosque where the Caliph mounts a wooden pulpit and expounds their law unto them. The learned Muhammadans rise and pray for him, and praise his great kindness and piety; upon which the whole assembly answer "Amen." The Caliph then pronounces his blessing and kills a camel, which is led thither for that purpose, and this is their offering. It is distributed to the nobles, who send portions of it to their friends, who are eager to taste of the meat killed by the hands of their holy king, and are much rejoiced therewith. The Caliph after this ceremony, leaves the mosque, and returns alone, along the banks of the Tigris, to his palace, the noble Muhammadans accompanying him in boats until he enters this building. He never returns by the way he came; and the path on the bank of the river is carefully guarded all the year round, so as to prevent any one treading in his footsteps. The Caliph never leaves his palace again for a whole year."

The same traveller gives us also some interesting glimpses of Baghdad, as it was in those days. The city was three miles in circumference, rising out of rich clusters of palm trees, and encircled with gardens and orchards—merchants of all countries resorted thither, wise philosophers, and magicians skilled in every kind of enchantment. The palace of the Caliph was three miles in extent, on the opposite bank of the river, containing a large park filled with all kinds of trees, and numerous species of wild animals, and ornamented by a large artificial lake. In the immediate neighbourhood of the palace, the Caliph had caused to be erected large hospitals for the indigent sick. There were about sixty medical warehouses, all well provided at the king's expense; and every patient who needed assistance, was fed at the Caliph's expense until his cure was complete. The palace itself, was a vast range of buildings containing accommodation for all the members of the Caliph's family—brothers, uncles, cousins, and the like. Each of these were bound with chains of iron, and a special officer was attached to each household to prevent their rising in rebellion and murdering the Caliph. In all other respects, says Benjamin, they are much honoured, eat and drink, and lead merry lives, and possess towns and villages. The palace of the great king, he adds, contains large buildings, pillars of gold and silver, and treasures of precious stones.

The Imam of Islam, however, needed the arm of flesh to defend him and his accumulated treasures. This duty was fulfilled by the Emir-ul-Omra. He was the sword of the Church militant,

and occupied in relation to the Caliph a position somewhat similar to that of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire in relation to the Pope. And like the Emperors, he only too often took advantage of this position to persecute the spiritual power he had undertaken to defend. The post, however, was a highly coveted one. It gave to him who held it, an acknowledged right of precedence over all Muhammadan potentates, and was in consequence fiercely competed for. This enabled the Caliph in some degree to keep his destiny under his own control. Some new adventurer was always rising to power somewhere, whom he could play off with effect against the Emir-ul-Omra, supposing that potentate became too outrageously tyrannical. The dignity remained, with some fluctuations, in the possession of the princes of the house of Buiah—the Buyides as they are termed in Oriental History—until about the middle of the eleventh century, when a sudden revolution made Toghrul Beg—the celebrated founder of the Seljukian Empire—the Lord of Baghdad.

When the huge empire of the Huns was broken up, the shivered fragments had been cast all over the Northern and Central parts of Asia. A part had been absorbed into other tribes and lost their name, and distinguishing characteristics; a part had emigrated Westward, penetrating as far as the steppes of the Volga, and displacing there the tribes which overwhelmed the declining Roman Empire; another portion, as we have already mentioned, was known to the Greek Empire and the Muhammadans, as the Turkish nation; still another fragment remained in Siberia, where they took or acquired the name of the Hœi-ke. They remained in Siberia until they had become a numerous nation when they moved Southward towards the Northern Frontiers of China. During the sixth century they were subjugated by the Khan of the Western Turks; but the barbarities of their conquerors drove them into rebellion, and after a fierce and protracted struggle they wrested a large extent of territory from the Turks, and laid the foundation of an empire which eventually extended over the whole of Eastern Tartary. They were divided into fifteen hordes, each of which was ruled by its own chief; they lived under their tents with countless flocks and herds, and fed upon the milk and flesh of their cattle. A.D. 646, they placed themselves under the protection of the Chinese Empire. The Emperor sent into their country about a thousand Chinese officers who divided the country into divisions, allotting one to the chief of each horde. Sixty-eight posts also were established across the country, where provisions were always kept ready for the use of travellers. Though troubled with frequent revolts, the authority of the Chinese Emperors was acknowledged by the Hœi-ke until about the middle of the eighth century. About that time, the Khan of one of the hordes had succeeded

in establishing an unquestioned supremacy over all. He had also vastly extended the limits of his empire, and he wrung from the Chinese an acknowledgement of his independence. His dominions were bounded on the West by the river Irtysh and the Altai Mountains, and on the East by the river Amoor. His son, Kule Khan, was able to render the most brilliant services to the Chinese Emperor. He marched an army into the Northern Provinces, and crushed with fearful slaughter, a formidable insurrection. He was rewarded by the hand of an Imperial Princess. But the alliance of these barbarians could never be, at best, more than a broken reed to depend upon. The weight of a feather was sufficient to turn them. Ten years later we hear of an immense swarm of Hwei-ke carrying fire and sword through the Province of Chansi. Up to this time the Hwei-ke had lived with the simplicity common to all Tartars. There was no difference between the Prince and the people, but all distinctions of rank were absorbed in the feeling of a common life binding all the hordes together. Intercourse with the Chinese Court corrupted this primitive simplicity. The Khans abandoned the old customs; they built grand palaces, and caused their wives to be magnificently attired. Another century (A.D. 856) passed away with the old monotonous catalogue of wars and massacres—forays into the Chinese dominions—desperate reprisals; one Khan after another dying in battle, or falling beneath the dagger of an assassin. At last the dim outlines of a more than commonly desperate struggle between the two nations come into vision like a landscape seen through driving snow. Among the valleys of the hills which surround Lake Konor the Chinese troops have hemmed in their retreating and wearied enemy. The Hwei-ke are cut to pieces; their prince is wounded; ten thousand prisoners are beheaded on the battle field. The empire is extinguished in the blood of that disastrous struggle. But a portion of the hordes retired Westward, and founded a new kingdom which extended from Kashgar to the frontiers of the Empire of Islam beyond the Oxus. This neighbourhood made them acquainted with the religion of Unity; and a traveller who visited their country shortly after the death of the Caliph Al Mutasem, found the greater part of the people had become Muhammadans. An internal dispute resulted in a large fraction of these hordes separating themselves from the main body, and under the guidance of Seljuk—a celebrated warrior—and emigrating in a mass into the regions beyond the Oxus. The dynasty of the Samanides at this time ruled in Bokhara, and they allotted pasture lands to the wild shepherds, who were known in their new country by the name of "Seljukids." Here they lived for some time, their numbers increasing with extraordinary rapidity, but preserving in the midst of luxury and refinement, the simple barbarism which they had brought with them from

their distant homes on the banks of the Irtisch. Mahmud of Ghuznee committed the fatal error of actually compelling these barbarians to cross the Oxus and settle in Khorasan. His Vizir Arslan in vain pointed out the disastrous consequences of this fatal measure. The Sultan was inflexible, and the Vizir, it is said, actually sickened and died at the thought of the calamities preparing for Asia at the hands of these fierce and turbulent barbarians. Some conception of their numbers may be formed from an anecdote which is related by Mirkhond. The Sultan Mahmud inquired of Issrail, the son of Seljuk, how many Cavalry, in the event of an emergency, could they send to his assistance. The young Turk drew an arrow from the quiver suspended from his shoulder, and laying it before the Sultan, said, "Send that, and one hundred thousand horse will hasten to your aid." "And if more were wanted?" The youth drew forth a second arrow—"This" said he, "would being fifty thousand more." "And if the crisis were still imminent?" The young leader then laid his whole quiver at the feet of the Sultan—"Send that and two hundred thousand cavalry will speed to your assistance."

The Sultan, it is said, trembled at these words; but the rash deed had been done past recall. It was beyond his power now, to drive these strangers back again across the Oxus. They continued to increase in strength, ranging with their flocks and herds over the broad plains about the City of Meru. *Three grandsons of Seljuk,—Toghrul Beg, Bigou and Jaffier-ibn Daoud—ruled over them. At length their ravages in Balkh and Khorasan determined Musaoon,—the son and successor of Mahmud—to make a grand effort to extirpate these barbarians. In the year 428 (A.D. 1037) he marched into the Province of Balkh, threw a bridge across the Oxus, and entered the country beyond. The sudden setting in of winter which threatened to cut him off from Ghuznee compelled him, however, to suspend operations. The Turks emboldened by his retreat surrounded the City of Balkh, and Musaoon was obliged to hurry up by forced marches to save the place from capture. The Seljuks fell back to Meru as the Sultan approached, and from thence sent an embassy to the king, engaging to live in peace and quiet, provided an extension of grazing land was made to them proportionate to their increasing numbers. These proposals were accepted by Musaoon, who then proceeded in the direction of Herat. But he had not advanced beyond a few marches, when the plundering propensities of the Seljuk Turks proved too strong for their amicable engagements. They attacked the rear guard of the Sultan and plundered a part of his baggage. Enraged at this treachery and insult, Musaoon turned upon his pursuers, and every prisoner that fell into his hands was executed upon the spot. He continued, his march to Herat, and from thence to Nishapore and Tous. At

Tous, large hordes of Turks again assailed his column, but were beaten off with heavy loss. But these defeats had no lasting effect on these barbarians. In the spring of A.H. 431, they resumed the field in undiminished strength. Musaood again attacked them not far from Meru; but some of his chief officers abandoned him at the very commencement of the battle, and went over to the enemy. The cry of "treachery" was raised, and the Sultan's army began to fall back in disorder. "But the King" says Ferishta, "undismayed even by the defection of his officers, gallantly rode to the spot where he perceived the conflict most bloody, performing prodigies of valour unequalled perhaps by any sovereign; but his efforts were vain; for when he looked round he beheld that his whole army, excepting the body which he commanded, *had devoured the paths of light*. The king thus deserted and seeing no hope from the efforts of his single arm, turned his steed, and trampling down the enemy, opened a road for himself with his own sword."

Upon the very scene of their victory the Turks proceeded to the election of a king. A large number of arrows were collected into a bundle; and upon each of these was inscribed the name of a tribe, of a family, and a warrior. A child drew three of the arrows in the presence of the whole army, and chance assigned the throne to Toghrul Beg the grandson of Seljuk. This victory placed Khorasan in the possession of the Seljukides; Nishapore opened her gates to Toghrul Beg; Herat submitted to Jaffier. It was just at this time that the Caliph Kaiem, groaning under the tyranny of the Buies, and the bitter enemy of the Sultans of Ghuznee, despatched an embassy to the Seljuk camp; hoping to find a friend in the rising conqueror. And the news of the victory of Nishapore was no sooner received in Baghdad, than the Caliph caused the name of Toghrul Beg to be inserted in the public prayer. Three years however elapsed before Toghrul Beg made his entry into Baghdad. During that time he was pushing his conquests, North, South, East and West. One dynasty after another was shivered into fragments before the onset of the Seljuk. The sufferings of the people are terrible to think of. These Turks, as we have said, were thorough savages. Corn-fields were trodden down beneath the relentless hoofs of their steeds; orchards and palm groves were given to the flames in order to provide wider pasture land for their flocks and herds. Many parts of Asia, at that time, were in a highly prosperous and flourishing condition. In all the regions of the earth, it was said, there was not a more flourishing or a more delightful country than the district of Bokhara. According to the geographer Ibn Haukal, who wrote in the time of the Samanides, there were only two spots which could be named in the same breath—the river Ailah and the Ghutah of Damascus. But both these, he declares, were vastly

inferior. For eight day's journey, he tells us, the valley of the Togd was all one delightful country, full of gardens, orchards, and villages, cornfields and villas, and running streams; rich meadows giving way to broad pasture downs, and pasture downs to broad stretches of waving corn. Across all this loveliness the hordes of the Seljuks passed like the simoom of the desert. The land was as the Garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness, and nothing escaped them. Toghrul Beg died A.H. 455 (A.D. 1063); but his nephew and successor Alp Arslan carried on the same career of conquest and devastation. Toghrul Beg had, on two or three occasions, invaded the Asiatic territories of the Byzantine Empire, committing fearful havoc and devastation. Alp Arslan carried these partial conquests to completion. He invaded in person the Northern parts of Armenia and Iberia. He laid waste the country in the cruellest manner, for it was the notion of these savages that a country was not really conquered unless it was also depopulated. Iberia had been long celebrated for the industry of its inhabitants, the wealth of its numerous towns, and the valour of its people. There is no doubt they could have flung back the invaders, had the Byzantine Empire come to their aid. But avarice was the dominant passion of the Emperor Constantine X., and rather than disburse his loved hoards, he preferred to look idly on while his fairest provinces were laid waste and overrun. The country in consequence was compelled to submit to the Seljuk Sultans, and the invaders settling upon it like a flight of locusts, rapidly converted the happiest and most fertile parts of Asia into a scene of poverty and desolation. From Iberia, Alp Arslan passed into Armenia. Ani, the capital, was stormed and taken, after a gallant defence, 6th June 1064. That event was followed by an immense emigration of the people into the provinces of the Byzantine Empire lying to the West and South of their ancient seats. In the meanwhile other bodies of Turks had invaded the provinces of Mesopotamia and Chaldaea. They plundered the open country, putting all the armed men to the sword, and carrying the women and children to the slave markets. They avoided coming in contact with the regular troops. Their plan was to exterminate the cultivators of the soil, and so convert the country into a vast grazing ground. The villages, forts, houses, and plantations, were everywhere burned down; and the wells filled up. In this way they succeeded in rendering the country so unfit for human habitation, that entire districts of Asia Minor were left vacant before the Seljuk power was able to conquer the cities.

The same policy was continued under Malek Shah—the son and successor of Alp Arslan. Innumerable hordes were instructed to plunder the Roman Empire. The standard of the Prophet floated

over the the walls of Edessa, Iconium, Tarsus, and Antioch. Nicæa became the capital of the Seljuk Governor of that portion of Asia. Another army wrested Syria from the hands of the Fatimites, and the black flag of the Abbasides floated once more from the ramparts of Jerusalem. The broken fragments of Islam were united after a fashion, but the combining power was no longer Arabic but Turkish. It was a complete and radical change of dominion.

The new state of things brought with it no pledge of permanence. The germs of decay and dissolution were implanted from the first, deep in its constitution. The Turks, as we have said repeatedly, were utter barbarians. They brought with them no principles of government; they founded no institutions; they acknowledged no duties towards the subject populations. The courts of Alp Arslan and Malek Shah blazed, it is true, with barbaric splendour; but their subjects were but nomadic shepherds—shepherds who blended the warlike with the pastoral character. Their position in Asia was precisely similar to that held by the Mahrattas in India at the height of their power; like them they did not conquer a province, but merely encamped upon it; like them they were a vast horde of Cavalry spread over the richest provinces of Central Asia to eat the fat of the land. At the head of each horde was a chief, nominally dependent upon Malek Shah, but virtually independent, and watching only for an opportunity to assume that position in name as well as in fact. So long as Malek Shah lived, the commanding genius of his minister Nizam-ul-Mulk held these discordant elements together. But the minister knew that the task was beyond the power of any other living person, and only a few days before his death, he predicted that his death and the disruption of the Seljukian Empire would be simultaneous. He spoke truly. The death of Malek Shah, was followed by a fierce struggle between two of his sons for the vacant throne; and every Emir took advantage of the confusion to assume the position of an independent sovereign. Nicæa, Jerusalem, Aleppo, Damascus—in fact almost every city of importance in Asia Minor developed suddenly into a principality in a state of chronic warfare with all its neighbours. The history of Asia is again lost sight of in a confused tumult of battles, marches, and sieges, plots and counter-plots, murders and dethronements, utterly wearisome to read, and almost beyond the power of human insight to unravel. This was the very element in which the sect of "the Assassins" would flourish best; and in Persia or Asia Minor—wherever disorder is highest—we see amid the noise and confusion the gleam of their daggers as they strike some illustrious victim to the grave. They were the last and most fearful outcome of centuries of misrule. The sect could not have existed as an organisation for a single year

had there been anywhere, a really hearty and honest desire to suppress it. But there was not. The times were wholly out of joint; centuries of aimless and pitiless war had seared the consciences, and rendered utterly callous the hearts of high and low alike. Wealth and power were held to be the sole prizes of life; and in the mad pursuit after these, principles of right and justice and honour were spurned aside as worthless encumbrances. There was always some Prince who needed an assassin to rid him of a rival he feared or friend he distrusted, and who was ready to pay for the deed with his purse and his protection. And thus, though he never put an army in the field, the Grand Master of the Assassins never lacked an ally. As for the body of the people, they were in general indifferent, though now and again they broke out in fits of fanatical fury against these impious heretics. They looked upon the Grand Master as only one more potentate added to the body of those inevitable evils, that, like plague and famine, blight and earthquake harassed and tormented them. His daggers were not specially directed against them. Why should they specially endeavour to rid the world of him? And so it came about that a dynasty which owed its very existence to the practice of assassination, and was known to do so, was enabled to flourish intact for more than two hundred years.

R. D. O.

To be continued.

ART. IV.—THE BENGAL POLICE.

- 1.—*The Fifth Report from the Select Committee on the affairs of the East India Company.* Vol. I. Bengal Presidency. London, 1812.
- 2.—*An Act for the Regulation of Police.* Act V. of 1861.
- 3.—*Report on the village watch of the Lower Provinces of Bengal.* By D. J. McNeile, C.S., Magistrate on special duty, Calcutta, 1866.
- 4.—*The village Chowkeedaree Act.* Act VI. of 1870. (B. C.)
- 5.—*Report on the Police of the Lower Provinces of the Bengal Presidency for the year 1871.* By Colonel J. R. Pughe, Inspector-General of Police, Lower Provinces. Calcutta, 1872.
- 6.—*The Bengal Municipalities' Bill, 1872.* Part XII. Third Class Municipalities, Secs. 257—270.

“**T**HAT the Police in India has lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which it was established, is a notorious fact; that it is all but useless for the prevention, and sadly inefficient for the detection of crime, is generally admitted. Unable to check crime, it is with rare exceptions unscrupulous as to its mode of wielding the authority with which it is armed for the functions which it fails to fulfil; and has a very general character for corruption and oppression. There is, moreover, a want of general organization; the force attached to each division is too much localized and isolated, and the notion of combination between any separate parts of it, with the view of accomplishing the great objects of a body of police, is seldom entertained.” This was the unfavourable verdict passed upon the old police establishments of India by the Court of Directors in 1856. It is hardly less applicable to the present condition of this traditionally unsatisfactory department. The evils with which we have to contend are to be found, now not less, than then, in the character and want of organization of the Police.

To state the chief causes of the inefficiency of the Police in this Presidency, and to suggest a remedy for the evils of the existing system are the objects of the present paper.

And first historically.

The village watchman has been an institution in India from time immemorial. It appears certain, that from the most ancient times this functionary has composed an integral part of that Hindu village community which once everywhere existed, and which it is now in many quarters so anxiously desired to revive.

He was, in all probability, a close and complete representative of his modern counterpart. His customary duties seem to have corresponded with those required from the watchmen of the present day by positive enactment of the legislature. The distinctive features of the Bengal Chowkeedar have always been identical. The constitution of the rural police, though unique in itself, has never changed. The watchman of old was like our own creation in that he was a member of an hereditary thieving class of the population and irresponsible for his behaviour except to the village community by whom he was maintained.

As, however, we approach within the Mussulman or historic period, the system of police in this country undergoes a modification. It was under the influence of the Mogul settlement that the village communities lost their municipal character and became collections of individual subjects of the State. Every consideration was subordinated to the successful working of the revenue establishment. Absolute power was concentrated in the hands of the chief local revenue officer of Government. The village watchmen, placed as they were at the entire disposal of the Zemindar, were as frequently employed in the extortion of rent as in their legitimate duties of watch and ward. They became servants of the State to be used at will in different branches of the administration. And not only the watchmen, but every class of revenue servant was liable to be called out, at any time, for the preservation of the public peace and the apprehension of evil-doers. The officers employed in the collection of the sayer or impost duties, and stationed at the *gunjes* or commercial depôts of grain, in the *bazaars* or markets, and at the *hauks* or fairs, were utilized indiscriminately for the purpose of these collections, and for the protection of the inhabitants and frequenters of those places. No separate police force was entertained by the State. The Zemindars were held as directly responsible for the whole police administration of the country as for the collection of the revenue. As it is the tendency of Asiatic Governments to incline to the establishment of individual authorities from the sovereign downwards, so it is consistent with this principle that the local revenue officers were unreservedly entrusted with maintaining the peace of their own districts. In his official engagement the Zemindar became bound to apprehend murderers, robbers, house-breakers, and malefactors. If he failed in producing the robber, or the thing stolen, he was answerable to the injured person for the amount of the loss. If the zemindar was farmed, the farmer who possessed the *mofussil* authority incurred the responsibility. The means thus provided were ample for keeping the peace, and when properly directed could not fall of efficiency from the great number of men who might at any time be called forth for the

defence and security of the ^{*}public, consisting, as we have seen, not only of the village watchmen, whose special duty it was to be always in readiness, but of all those likewise over whom the zemindaree authority extended. To convey an idea of the means possessed by a principal Zemindar for police purposes, we will illustrate the case of the Zemindar of Burdwan, cited by the Parliamentary Committee of 1812: "This zemindaree," it is said, "may be taken, on a rough estimate at 73 miles long, "and 45 broad, comprehending about 3,280 square miles, nearly "the whole of which was in the highest state of cultivation and "well stocked with inhabitants. The police establishment, as "described in a letter from the Magistrate, of the 12th October "1788, consisted of *Thannadars* acting as chiefs of police divisions "and guardians of the peace; under whose orders were stationed "in the different villages, for the protection of the inhabitants, "and to convey information to the *Thannadars*, about 2,400 *pykes* "or armed constables. But exclusive of these guards, who were "for the express purpose of police, the principal dependance for "the protection of the people probably rested on the *zemindarees* "*pykes*; for these are stated by the Magistrate to have been in "number no less than nineteen thousand, who were at all times "liable to be called out in aid of the police." The village-guards, or constables proper, over the whole of Bengal amounted, according to Sir Henry Strachey's moderate calculation, to more than one hundred thousand men armed with spears and shields.

During the final years of the Mahomedan rule the police administration fell, with every other department of Government, into a state of disorder. The condition of the country was found by the British on their accession to power to be disorganised. It was believed that no moderate measures would be adequate to the occasion, and that the old state of things could not possibly be restored and applied to the public benefit. The principal reform of Lord Cornwallis was to reduce the Zemindars from their high position of tributary chiefs to that of landlords and subjects. It was assumed that the failure of the police system had resulted from an abuse of the authority entrusted to the Zemindars. But in point of fact it was rather the revenue system of the regulations that was incompatible with the old police administration of the country. That system was an anomaly: it has since broken down on all sides; but it first failed with reference to the subject we are now treating. The Zemindars and their subordinates, under the cover of obligations, which they had been deprived the power of fulfilling uprightly, were soon found to be the perpetrators or abettors of half the crime in Bengal. The Government were left without a practical alternative. By the proclamation of December 7th, 1792, re-enacted by Regulation

XII. of 1793, it took the police of the country directly into its own hands and deprived the land-holders by law of all the authority which had attached to them as officers of the State.

The new scheme of police introduced by the Regulations divided the country into police jurisdictions, of which each division was guarded by a Darogah with an establishment of armed men, selected and appointed by the Magistrate of the District. The village watch were placed under the indirect control of the Darogah. This scheme then sanctioned is the basis of our present police administration. The only considerable change of any importance effected during this century has been the establishment of the police, within late years, as a separate department.

We shall presently venture upon a casual reference with effect to this change. But our principal enquiry in this paper will be of the most general nature into the actual constitution of the several police forces in Bengal.

The present constitution of our police is dual and irreconcilable. The duality of the system is, moreover, entirely of our own creation. There are a variety of remarkable characteristics in our criminal administration of the country; but it is, in our judgment, distinguished by no feature more noteworthy than this, that side by side with an enrolled and organized semi-military constabulary it supports a disorganized and heterogeneous rabble of irresponsible village watchmen. The village chowkeedars represent the theory of dispersion: the constabulary that of centralization. We shall point out that while these rival systems are irreconcilable in principle, so, in practice, the village watchmen who are alone capable of performing legitimate police work are from their very position little better than a band of thieves; and that on the other hand, the members of the Bengal Constabulary have degenerated into mere functionaries of routine and service: and having done this we shall endeavour to show to the best of our ability, that no re-arrangement of our police establishment can ever meet with reasonable success unless organized upon the basis of a complete, uniform and direct subordination to the national Government.

It will be unnecessary for our purpose to follow up the history of the village watch under our rule. It is the less necessary to do so as the subject has been very fully discussed in Mr. McNeile's elaborate report. Nor do we desire to revive the controversy—which has led to bitter contentions and even up to litigation to the highest tribunal in England—as to the relative rights of modern Zemindars and the Government to the nomination and services of the village police. It will suffice to state that the difficulties and complications which surround this subject are much enhanced by the fact of there being two great divisions of the insti-

tution now in existence; the one which is remunerated by an assignment of lands for its support; the other which is in receipt, or rather in nominal receipt, of a salary by money payments. It may be said broadly that the whole of the Eastern Districts of Bengal are occupied by a money-receiving village police which was constituted by Regulation XX. of 1817. The watchman in these districts is dependent for the payment of his services upon the good will of the community in which he lives. In Western Bengal and Behar the basis of the system is still the old payment in service land. But it is a curious circumstance that the innovation introduced by the Regulations has been voluntarily adopted to a large and increasing extent all over Bengal. Even in the Patna and Bhaugulpore Divisions, only a little less than one-seventh of the whole of the village watchmen are at the present time in possession of service tenures. The remaining six-sevenths are maintained by the land-holders and the people at large by the payment of stipends in cash, grain and other commodities. A consideration of these service or chakeran lands is, however, in our opinion entirely independent of any question of general police reform, and should be treated subsequently and separately, on its own merits; and we shall not, therefore, allow its introduction to interfere in any way with our present argument. We will note only that the interests involved in it are far less than is commonly supposed. It is abundantly clear that as under actual circumstances the very large majority of the chowkeedars in Bengal are maintained solely by the contributions of the village communities, so the Zemindars in these cases, at all events, can have no equitable claim to any portion of their services.

The regular constabulary of every district now consists of a limited number of men disciplined and enrolled under the orders of the District Superintendent of Police. This officer is indirectly subordinate to the Magistrate of the District. He is directly subordinate to the Inspector-General of Police. The Magistrate of the District, as chief executive authority, exercises a controlling jurisdiction over the constabulary. He issues his orders to the District Superintendent and the District Superintendent is bound to obey them. The powers of the District Magistrate are wielded also in a measure by the Divisional Commissioner: but at the same time no other Magistrate than the District Magistrate is invested with any police powers whatsoever. The establishment of the Bengal Police is, strictly speaking, a semi-military organization.

On the other hand the chowkeedaree system is disorganization itself. The rural chowkeedars as they at present exist over the greater part of Bengal, enjoy an almost indefinable responsibility to their Zemindars or village headmen in one

capacity, and to the District Superintendent of Police in another. But in effect they must and do depend upon the residents of the village from whom they derive the means of their wretched and precarious existence. The village policeman is a fellow villager of the villagers and a tenant of the Zemindar. He is appointed by the Zemindar and the village community, or by one of these two. He is also maintained by them either by lands, or by wages in money or kind; he is also their servant. The element of wages popularly constitutes the most distinctive feature of the relation between master and servant. The chowkeedar is simply the menial of the influential villagers; he is proud to call himself the creature of the talookdar. An absence of independence is the crying weakness of the Bengali from the wealthiest land-holder in the Zillah who memorializes Government to assist him in putting up his school, to the ryot who wearies the Magistrate to cleanse the fetid trench that stagnates before his door. And as a dog will lick the hand that feeds it, a Bengali chowkeedar will throw himself on the village community, and, sunk in the consciousness of his own feebleness, cringe before the face and grovel at the feet of his paymaster. Yet still, though we cannot hesitate to avow that the connection between the Bengal establishment of police and the village chowkeedars is so vague as to be essentially valueless, the mere consciousness of that connexion, such as it is, may possibly be considered under all the circumstances of the case a very natural source of hope and encouragement. The link, at all events, exists, though slender, and it might have been welded into a bond of unity. It has, we fear, been snapped. Our readers will have observed the enactment of the new chowkeedaree law passed by the Bengal Legislative Council in 1870. There are two effective principles of this Act. The one recognizes "the fact that the village chowkeedar is purely a village servant, employed for the protection of the lives and property of the villagers, and looking to the village community for the regular payment of the remuneration to which he is entitled." The one principle definitely sanctions a decentralized administration of police. To this we shall presently revert at length. The other simply transfers the village chowkeedars from the indeterminate control of the Superintendent of Police to the indeterminate control of the Magistrate. And upon this we shall now hazard a few remarks. The issue involved in this principle, although it has less importance than it was a few years ago considered to possess, is yet of more consequence than the reaction of to-day is inclined to accord to it. Abstractedly considered, and as a step leading to another and consistent measure of legislation, we believe, and shall venture to maintain, that the principle of the transfer was correct. But

there is not a shadow of reason to presume that the Act is intended to be transitional; on the contrary, the recent Municipalities Bill is distinctly designed to perpetuate its operation. And it requires, we think, but scanty reflection to persuade ourselves that the tendency of a law which seems to shatter all chance of police unification must be radically unsound. The very conception of our police rests on an unintelligible compromise—an exhaustive enactment might have swept all differences into a consistent agreement: the new law codifies the confusion.

Granting,* as this law seems to grant, though only partially, that the administration of police is a primary function of Government, the issue as against our legislators resolves itself into an alternative dilemma. Either the departmental officers, meaning by this expression the official organism from the Inspector-General to the District Superintendent, are competent to the management of the rural police in addition to their own duties, or they are not. If they are competent, it ought to be made over to them; if they are not competent, the regular constabulary should be also taken from their hands. Or to reverse the picture, the local Magistrates are or are not competent to manage the district police. If they are not competent, the village police ought not to be entrusted to them; if they are competent, they should be reinstated in their ancient powers without delay.

In point of fact we think the *consensus* of trustworthy authority would decide the issue of this dilemma against the departmental officers. It might be invidious to appeal to experience. But it is a truism to affirm that our Mofussil administration will be generally efficient and also acceptable to the people just in proportion to the degree in which it conforms to what is simple or oriental, in preference to a complex or European model. And it is already widely recognized that the separation of the judicial from the executive power—a doctrine which was at one time the very shibboleth of promotion in official quarters—has not attained that practical success it was expected to deserve. The European idea of provincial government is a minute division of functions and officers. The oriental idea is to unite all power into one centre. The European may possibly be able to comprehend and appreciate the maxim that the thief-taker should not judge the thief. The Asiatic is only confused and aggrieved to hear that his complaint which had been decided as true by one *Sahib*, has been dismissed on precisely the same evidence by another. And the Bengali, however deficient in other ways, is at least not inferior to the Englishman in the logic of common sense which determines that the authority who first enquires into the case, while the facts are green, is more likely to come to a just decision upon the merits than the court of second instance,

or perhaps the third or fourth! It were, we think, as well to humour the natives of India in this respect, not less for their sakes, than for our own. In the words of Lord Canning "we fully believe that what has been called the patriarchal form of Government is, in the present condition of the people of Bengal, most congenial to them and best understood by them; and as regards the governing power, the concentration of all responsibility upon one officer cannot fail to keep his attention alive and stimulate his energy in every department to the utmost, whilst it will preclude the growth of those obstructions to good administration which are apt to spring up where two co-ordinate officers divide the authority."

We return from this digression to resume our comparative analysis of the rural police and the police constabulary. The number of the police constabulary in Bengal may be roughly set down at 20,000: the number of village watchmen at 200,000. The budget grant for the former is forty-one lakhs and seventy-seven thousand rupees: the cost of the village watchmen, on an average of three rupees monthly per head, may be estimated at seventy-two lakhs. The actual business of the former is to guard prisoners and treasure, to serve processes, to protect the frontier and keep the peace, to wait upon the Magistrates in Court, to accompany their immediate superiors in local investigations, and finally to perform any miscellaneous work imposed upon them at the Thanuah. They may be directed "to take a census, mend a road, or do anything else for which a trustworthy officer may be usefully employed." On the other hand, the village watchmen, constituting as it were an indefinable and irresponsible body, disunited among themselves, and connected by no effectual link with the police organism proper, are, in virtue of their recognized functions and numerical force, the only real body of police in Bengal. It is to the chowkeedars that our Inspectors and Sub-Inspectors are obliged to look for every kind of assistance. "It is from the chowkeedars," in the words of Lord Hastings, lately quoted by Mr. Money in his place in the Bengal Council, "it is from the chowkeedars that all information of the character of individuals, of the haunts and intentions of robbers, and of everything necessary to forward the objects of police must ordinarily be obtained; they are the watch and patrol to which the community looks for its immediate protection, and on the occurrence of a crime the Dárogha's only mode of proceeding is to collect the watchmen of all neighbouring villages and to question them as to all the circumstances, with a view to get from them that information which they only can afford. The village chowkeedars are the foundation of all possible police in this country, and upon their renovation, improvement, and stability depends the ultimate

"success of all our measures for the benefit of the country in the "prevention, detection, and punishment of crime." We are in short, dependent for our police protection upon the village system. That system has been denounced by Sir John Peter Grant as "unpopular, arbitrary, and vexatious, and at the same time undisciplined, incapable and ill-directed." The Secretary to the Bengal Government has recently declared it to be "as bad as it can be." No respectable ryot has ever been induced to accept an appointment within the ranks of the village watch. We have known even indigent day labourers, when appointed, come crying with tears to their Zemindar praying for relief, on the avowed and only ground that the appointment would lower their reputation in the esteem of the neighbourhood and destroy their social position. In proportion to their numbers it is stated that more chowkeedars have been found guilty of heinous crimes than persons not chowkeedars have been of all offences of every kind.* It is not an exaggeration to affirm that the chowkeedars are by profession and hereditarily the robbers of India.† It is equally, however, without exaggeration that we repeat that they are the only real constabulary of Bengal. Their condition may be "unsatisfactory in the extreme." They have no doubt "lamentably failed in accomplishing the ends for which they were established." But it is through their means alone that we can ever hope to arrive at improvement in our police administration.

* This statement is extracted from a Minute of the late Hon'ble Drinkwater Bethune, a Member of the Governor-General's Council (quoted by Mr. Thompson in his speech in the Bengal Council on the 22nd January 1870). Colonel Pughe gives in his report the following returns of one district for the past year as a specimen of the conduct of the chowkeedars as at present organized. "37 chowkeedars were tried and judicially convicted :

- 15 for theft.
- 2 for wrongful restraint.
- 6 for wrongful confinement to extort confession.
- 4 for bad livelihood.
- 3 for lurking house trespass.
- 4 for robbery.
- 2 for bribery.
- 1 for causing hurt by dangerous weapons.

† This curious arrangement appears also to be universal throughout Southern India. "In the Carnatic the "Taliars are taken from the Maravars

and Kullers; in Mysore from the Bedars; in the Dekhan from the Ramoosies; in Guzerat from the 'Kulis; in Central India from the 'Bheels, &c. &c.—all of them professed and hereditary robber tribes." (Minute in 1856 by the Hon'ble Walter Elliot, a Member of the Madras Council.) In Bengal the fact has so far been recognized that village watchmen were once usually designated by the names of the low and thieving castes to which they have always belonged. Dosadh, Dome, Jolaha, Choto Begi, Chandal, Pashi, Mehtur, Bagadi, &c., are all names of castes.

Mr. McNeille, speaking of ancient times, states in explanation of the anomaly that "as a rule the chowkeidar belonged himself to some thieving gang, and his engagement as watchman was in fact an arrangement by which the villagers secured a partial immunity from attack by bringing over one of the enemy."

The report on the Police of the Lower Provinces for 1871, which we have placed at the head of this paper, is, like all previous reports submitted from the Police Office, confined to a review of the strictly enrolled constabulary. With the exception of a desultory paragraph or two the proceedings of the village police are entirely left out of sight. It is the old story, that ever since their semi-military organization, the legitimate work of the police has been subordinated to an elaboration of local pipe-clay, and the preparation of untrustworthy returns. It is because the departmental police authorities have never recognized or rather have wilfully blinded themselves to the fact, that their constabulary is not a proper police body, but that all police work in the Mofussil is, and must be done by the village watchmen, that their reports upon police administration are so absolutely useless. If this language seems hard, we can only affirm that it is justifiable. The real police work of the country is done, so far as it is done at all, by the village chowkeedars and a few hundred officers in the upper ranks of the regular police. Our mofussil constabulary is composed of men who not only entertain no idea of acquiring and bringing information bearing upon crime, but never even conceive that it is their duty to do so. There is not a constable in Bengal who holds that his primary duties are to detect and prevent crime. In point of fact he is never employed upon legitimate police work. "If it does fall to the lot of a policeman to interfere in any way with offenders against the laws of his country, it is seldom in the case of crimes more serious than the defilement of an open drain or some other public nuisance." We wish to pay every respect to the European and other officers in the upper ranks of the regular police—and in fact, the results of their work out of the wretched material at their disposal do them infinite credit—but we cannot scruple to point out that the delusion, that their subordinates are in any way instrumental in discharging the first functions of a police, is not shared by their subordinates, and is, indeed, experienced by themselves alone. The truth is, that quite apart from their numerical insufficiency—it is impossible that the members of the incongruous semi-military force, whom we have been pleased to designate police constables, could perform such duties, in addition to their other work.

About one quarter of the police force were utilized during the year under review as guards and orderlies. One thousand men were on frontier duty in Cachar and Sylhet in connection with the Lushai Expedition. About five thousand men were employed as guards over jails and lock-ups, treasury and opium, and in the Salt Preventive Police. 52 jails, 98 lock-ups, 46 district treasuries, and 87 sub-divisional treasuries were guarded by the constabulary.

The average daily number of escorts furnished throughout the year amounted to 93 head constables and 587 constables. The remaining three quarters of the force executed no less than 59,379 warrants, and served 3,74,389 summons and 1,50,894 other written orders. They served during the year a grand total of 5,84,662 processes. They were also largely employed in the acquisition of departmental and general statistics. In many districts of Bengal, the police afforded most material assistance in carrying out the census. "Officers in charge of police stations visited every village in their jurisdictions, and ascertained what persons could read and write. Lists were then submitted to the Magistrate, showing the names of such persons as were qualified to act as enumerators. The forms were then distributed by the police to every village, and officers went about and explained carefully how they were to be filled up. In those places where there was no one who could read and write, the police themselves did the work of enumerators." We note also that the Inspector-General accords the highest praise to the energy displayed by the police in the districts which were flooded during August and September. But in this we are unable to concur. While the superior officers of the department "patrolled the country in boats, affording relief to the poorer villages, keeping open the communications, and carrying the daks where the postal authorities had broken down," the laziness of the Bengal policemen during the crisis of the inundation was incorrigible.

From the above analysis it will be tolerably evident what are the actual functions of the constabulary. An insignificant body of thirteen or fourteen thousand men—scattered over so vast an area, and dispersed through so enormous a population as that of these provinces—the Bengal Police are simply process-servers, under a liability to be employed whenever the Magistrate of the district thinks fit, upon miscellaneous executive work. They are not and cannot be a preventive and detective organization. The village watchmen are our only real police. And it is, as we have seen, to the improvement and modification of the chowkidari system, not to the development of the constabulary, that those must look who are interested in police reform.* There is vast

* "We cannot refrain from quoting here the observations upon this subject of Mr. Lewis, contained in his letter of the 2nd May 1837. 'By far the greatest impediment to the success of police operations in this country arises from the total want of co-operation on the part of the people; execution on the one hand, and fear,

ignorance, and prejudice on the other, have drawn a very marked line between the police officer and the public; and whatever the crime may be, or however notorious and dangerous the offender, the village community rarely shows any disposition to assist either in tracing the one or apprehending the other; their sole object being to get rid

scope for re-organization in this direction, and the more so as recent legislation has failed so conspicuously to grapple with the difficulty. It is no secret that the Chowkidari Act of 1870 has proved a practical failure. It deserved to fail, because it perpetuated the confusion of a dual administration. The heads of the police in Bengal are chuckling together over the failure. It will, however, avail them nothing until they can recognize that the establishment of these anomalous and irresponsible watchmen upon a systematic basis, is the one thing absolutely indispensable to throw new life into their own decaying organism. Many Magistrates, and not a few District Superintendents, are fully alive to the truth of this view of the situation, and we must trust to the strength of their representations to affect the general sense of the department. But the annual recurrence of such misleading reports as that we have now before us, affords little encouragement to hope for their speedy success.†

"as speedily as possible of their unwelcome visitors by any story most likely to effect their purpose.

"But in the character and disposition of the village chowkidar there is something common to both parties; when properly treated he can give, and he frequently does give, most valuable information; and it has therefore always appeared to me a most desirable object to make this connecting link between the police and people as sound and serviceable as possible. We doubt much if any description of village police can be efficient; we are quite sure that none can be popular, which is not based on the principle advocated by Mr. Lewis in the above extract." (Paras. 54 and 55 of the Report of the Police Committee of 1838, quoted by Mr. Monev in his speech on the 21st May 1870.)

† Not the least unhealthy feature, we think, in the police reports is the Inspector General's expression of confidence in the improved character of the constabulary. He is as surprisingly jubilant over the admirable quality of his material, as he is despondent over its numerical insufficiency. "As to the general conduct of the force," he says, "I have, no hesitation in pronouncing it satisfactory. No unprejudiced person

will deny that the roads and rivers are much safer than they were ten years ago, and that, generally, life and property are for more secure. To any one who moves through the Mofussil and visits its villages and towns, that most infallible sign of security is everywhere discernable which consists in the absence of arms; in the few districts where such are in existence, they are generally kept out of sight." The last of these remarks calls for no comment. Colonel Pughe cannot seriously think that Bengal ever contained a more warlike population than the present, or that the existence of weapons of defence and offence is rarer now than formerly. It is true, however, that the country enjoys much greater security; though we suspect that this is not so much the result of an improvement in the police as of the general progress of our administration. The supervision of Government, though still imperfect, is more localised and complete than it was ten years ago, and our knowledge of the people is prodigiously augmented. Justice has been, comparatively speaking, brought home to every man's door. The establishment of sub-divisions, and the creation of special opportunities for a system of check and superintendence, have more to do with the increase

The reorganization of the village watch is the grand problem which it now remains for us to solve. We shall enter immediately upon its discussion. But we feel we should be guilty of an inexcusable omission if, before doing so, we did not advert in some measure to a consideration of the police responsibilities (or irresponsibilities) of the modern landholders. The point is one of the nicest possible importance. "The irresponsibility of the Zemindars," says Colonel Pugh,--affording in this a fair illustration of the loose and sweeping assertions which continually occur in the police report,--"may be designated as the root and basis of "all police inefficiency!" The unfairness of this subterfuge is apparent, but we need not therefore hesitate to follow the Inspector-General when he continues in soberer language that "no one "has so many means of bearing of the commission of a crime "as a landholder, nor possesses more influence than he does as "regards the prosecution of crime and tracking of criminals." This is a difficulty which is with reason a matter of universal complaint among Mofussil authorities. It is a crying fact that during our government of the country, we never have obtained the co-operation of the landholders, whether cordial or otherwise. On this subject, the remarks of Mr. McNeile are admirable and exhaustive. "The great radical evil" he writes "which has "hitherto so greatly weakened the arm of the executive in dealing with crime, is one much wider in its character than the "under payment of village watchmen. It is the utter inability "of the public authorities to secure the co-operation of the people "in the administration of the law. This want of co-operation "may no doubt be partly ascribed, as it has been often ascribed, "to the fear existing among the people of the exactions of the "regular police, and to their aversion from all the other annoyances of a criminal investigation and trial. But it is in great "part owing to the operation of a power which is established "throughout the land with a far firmer root in the minds and "habits of the people than the whole authority of Government. "This is the power of the landholders and their local agents, whose "reign, silently acquiesced in, extends to every home in every "village in the country, and whose influence is used in support "of or in antagonism to the law, just as may appear to be most "advantageous to their interests. There are two ways in dealing "with this *imperium in imperio* ; one is to subvert it, the other

in public security than any alleged modification in the *mores* of the force. "The general character of the police "is an issue upon which every one of our readers is as competent, from his own knowledge, to come to

a verdict, favourable or unfavourable, as the Inspector-General himself. The question had better be left to be answered by a public than an official tribunal.

"is to recognize, confirm, and work through it. Hitherto we "have been paradoxically working in both directions." We have already seen that at the time of the settlement the Zemindars were reduced to the position of mere landholders and subjects. Their power nevertheless continued a great fact, "and the State "did not hesitate to admit its existence by imposing on the land- "holders liabilities which were altogether incompatible with the "condition in which they had been legally placed. * * * *

"But the Government of the day was not in a position to be logi- "cal. Its hold upon the country was far too uncertain and ill- "defined. It dared not openly entrust the landholders with police "authority, for fear of the gross abuse of that authority which "was certain to follow. And it could not manage the country "without them, because their power was already great enough "to set public authority more or less at defiance if they "chose." The responsibilities imposed on the landholders by our law still attach to them in their integrity. The power of discharging these responsibilities has however been very seriously impaired, and in fact necessarily diminishes, though almost imperceptibly, through the growth of public opinion in the Mofussil year by year. It is still very great. It is, indeed, all too powerful. For it is undeniable that such influence as remains, is more usually exercised in opposing and thwarting the police than in assisting their endeavours. Our Magistrates, moreover, have not the practical means of insisting upon a due discharge from landholders of their responsibilities. It may have been suggested to restore to the Zemindars their old authority as police officers under Government. But such a measure is *now* obviously out of the question * Only one course is before us, and that is to sweep

* Whether such a step would ever have been a desirable one cannot now be determined. It was, at all events urged upon the Government some seventy-one years ago by Sir Henry Strachey, Judge and Magistrate of Midnapore, than whom no more shrewd and sincere observer has been enrolled in the ranks of the Civil Service. He writes as follows :—

"It is my opinion that the procuring the assistance of the men "of property and influence in pro- "serving the peace throughout the "country, would lead to a system of "police the most efficient, the most "economical, the most suitable to "the habits of the people, and in "all respects the best calculated for

"their comfort and security."

* * * * *

"The Zemindars, it will be re- "collected, possessed under the "native Governments a degree of "power nearly proportionate to "their property. Although that "power was, perhaps, not formally "recognized, nor regularly executed ; "still they did possess a considerable "degree of military, civil and fiscal "power. They kept their depen- "dants in a state of union and were, "by that means, enabled to protect "them, and maintain themselves. "At present, such as have survived "the almost universal destruction of "Zemindars, are in conformity to our "notions, reduced to the same con- "dition, and placed at an equal

away the whole body of this anomalous legislation which imposes burdens which it is undesirable that any subject should have strength to bear.

The re-organization of the village police is a matter not entirely independent of this question of Zemindar's responsibility. But it involves an enquiry of far wider scope. The field of its discussion embraces the whole issue of Government non-interference.

We have said that the village chowkeedars represent, in police matters, the theory of dispersion. The constabulary represent centralization. Now it would not surely have been singular to assume that either the one theory or the other might fairly have commended itself to our legislature as desirable in itself, or appropriate to the particular state of affairs in this country. It might have been thought that, in such a case, our judgment would not have faltered. But in point of fact we have avoided the alternative, and an attempt has been made to meet the rival requirements of the two antagonistic theories by an almost unconscious compromise. It was not foreseen that the two theories so incompatible in principle, could never exist beneficially together in practice. Long and painful experience has alone been able to show that the inherent evils of a dual system of police are irremediable.

The decentralization of police—or the establishment of the village police upon the basis of dispersion—is now, however, the avowed principle which our rulers have taken upon themselves to accept. The control and supervision of the village police is delegated, under the Chowkidari Act, to a committee or *punchayet* selected from the inhabitants of the village. It is the same under the police sections of the Bill for village municipalities in Bengal. "Only municipalize more," we are told, "and trust the people. They are more interested in the safety of themselves and property than we are, and can provide for it far better, as regards village interests, than we can." From these assertions we unreservedly dissent. We view the legal

"distance from us with their lowest ryots. Any measure that has a tendency towards the restoration of this power (though I confess I have no distinct conception of the mode in which it can be accomplished) must, I think, advance a step towards the creation of a body of gentry, who, though they should never be actuated by the same motives as ourselves, nor possess any feeling in common with us, may yet perform great services to the public. Such a measure

"would, in my opinion, bring the lower orders more distinctly under the eye of the Magistrate. It might enable us, in some degree, to excite awe, to impose restraint, to awaken national ardour and love for the Government. Our moral impotence to produce any effect of this nature on the minds of the people, which is at present sufficiently apparent, might be, I think, if not removed, at least gradually diminished."

establishment of the principle of dispersion with the greatest possible apprehension. We are assured, from our experience, that it will prove wholly disastrous.

In practice, as is well known, the operations under the new law have failed. At present *punchayets* exist—or rather, existed at the end of 1871, the latest date up to which information is procurable—under the chowkidari law, only in the following districts on the scale we shall describe : in Patna in 26 villages, in Beerbhoom in 19, and in Blaugulpore but in 10. In Chittagong they exist in 8 villages, in Dacca in 43. In Jessore, where the law is in force, the system of *punchayets* has been found “cumbersome in its procedure and not likely to work well,” and therefore has not been extended to a single village. It is in Rajshahye alone that any real advance has been made. In that district the law has been extended to no less than 3,176 villages. It is to these *punchayets*, such as they are, unscrupulous, irresponsible, and dishonest—it is worthy of note that during the first year of its existence a member of a Beerbhoom *punchayet* was convicted of peculation—that our legislature would have the village police all over Bengal entrusted. It would desire to perpetuate the anarchy of the present village system. It would stereotype the language of the Minute written by Sir Frederick Halliday in 1838 in its applicability to the police of Bengal. “Theoretically these ‘chowkidars are appointed, paid, removed, and controlled by the ‘village communities. Practically they are sometimes ‘controlled ‘by the Thannah officers, oftener by the villagers, frequently by ‘neither. Here we have a force of about a hundred and seventy ‘thousand men, taken—by a custom which so long as the name ‘of village chowkidar exists will be immutable,—from the lowest ‘and vilest and most despised classes ; drawing annually from ‘the people in legitimate wages upwards of sixty lakhs of ‘rupees ; under no supervision but that of irresponsible and ‘ignorant communities ; thieves by caste and habit and connec- ‘tions ; totally disconnected from the Government police-estab- ‘lishment ; unorganised, depraved, worse than useless.”

The truth is that a mere village, such as is contemplated under the third class municipalities of the Municipal Bill, has no claim to a municipal representation. The inhabitants of these municipalities will not be distinguished by occupation or social relations from those of the rural districts adjoining ; and for their wants, the arrangements made for the surrounding territory should amply suffice. It is notorious that in executive matters boards seldom work satisfactorily : the low calibre of the men by whom they are almost always carried on is alone fatal to success. This is the most conspicuous imperfection of popular local institutions, and the chief cause of the failure which so often attends them.

So small a place as a third class municipality will never have a sufficient public to furnish a tolerable Municipal Council. Nor will the officers of such a representative body be amenable to opinion. Either they will split off into rival factions, or, as is at least as likely, all power will become concentrated in one man, who will thereby become the dominator of the place. The village Zemindar will lay his net for the unwary: the local Mahajan will rivet his chains: the municipal police will become their slaves. It is better that such places be merged in a larger circumscription. A small area may be convenient for the administration of sanitary rules: for the proper regulation of highways, a larger extent, like that of an average Zillah for instance, is not more than sufficient; but for the successful management of the police, we cannot look lower than to the State itself. To place their control, as our legislators have done, in the hands of a *punchayet* of a mofussil village, seems to us simply suicidal. For the discharge of such duties, which are national rather than local, the highest possible qualifications should have been secured. As the local authorities and village public are inferior to the central ones in intelligence and knowledge, so the advantage is wholly on the side of a police administration by the central Government.

The management of the police is, indeed, a national duty. It is a question not merely of local but of imperial importance. The whole nation is alike interested in the efficiency of its constabulary. It cannot be a matter indifferent to the rest of the country if any part of it becomes a nest of robbers or focus of demoralization. And it is obvious that in the absence of an uniformity of system, even the better watching of any particular village may fail to give satisfaction. Exceptional strictness only forces the thieves to lurk on the outskirts of the village or beyond its limits, and prey upon the villages which are more negligent. The points which constitute good management of police are the same everywhere: there is no reason why it should be differently managed in one part of these provinces and in another. But there is, on the other hand, great peril that, in a sphere so important, and to which the most instructed minds available to the State are not more than adequate, the lower average of capacities which alone can be counted on for the service of the municipalities, may commit errors of such magnitude as to be a serious blot upon the general administration of the country. The management of police is both so universal a concern, and so much a matter of general science, independent of local peculiarities, that it may be and ought to be uniformly regulated throughout the country, and its regulation enforced by more trained and skilful hands than those of purely local authorities. It can never be

successfully decentralized or entrusted to other responsibility than that of Government and the national executive.

In short, if there is any one sphere of action, in which Government interference is absolutely necessary and legitimate, it is in this matter of police. "Security of person and property, and equal justice between individuals, are the first needs of society and the primary ends of Government: if these things" writes Mr. Mill, "can be left to any responsibility below the highest, there is nothing except war and treaties, which requires a general government of all. Whatever are the best arrangements for security, these primary objects should be made universally obligatory, and to secure their enforcement, should be placed under central superintendence." This truth is of general application, but it applies especially to Bengal. The office of a police constable, if it lacks dignity, should at all events command independence, honesty, and a genuine sense of public duty. What at present we most urgently require is a stamp of respectability, even though artificial, enduing the village watchman with a social status, social responsibilities, and a natural pride in the efficient discharge of his work. Under existing circumstances we can only hope to obtain this reform by direct State patronage and Government interposition. We would not content ourselves with the suggestion of any incomplete or half measures. It is not, as has been said, that we are reduced to the solitary choice of subordinating the rural chowkidars to the regular constabulary, or of leaving to the village communities the control and supervision of their own rural police. There is, we conceive, another alternative perfectly feasible and obvious. Without municipalizing, and, indeed, wholly denying the claim of a mere village to any share in the principle of municipal representation, we would merge the regular constabulary into a rural police. We would sweep away the entire rank and file of the existing constabulary as a mere incubus, whose regular and routine duties might with unimpaired efficiency be performed by a process establishment and a small reserve from the rural force. We would furnish the necessary supply of guards and escorts from a separate organization. We would adhere to the only really sound element of the chowkidari system, *viz.*, that of retaining the local knowledge of men resident in the village in which they are to be employed. Free on the one hand, we trust, from the illegitimate influence of the Zemindar, free on the other from any improper connexion with the village community, capable withal of supplying every local information, the Bengal policemen of our ideal would, indeed, be a rural organism, and, as unlike, we venture to hope, to the Bengal policemen of our experience, as it would be possible to imagine; but they would be Government servants—not village

or zemindari servants—performing their duties under Government surveillance, appointed, enrolled, and organized by Government. Even so, we are free to confess, our hopes may be in vain. We are not sanguine in any case of achieving immediate success out of the wretched material that this country has, from time immemorial, afforded for recruiting its village watchmen. The means of reformation are not easy. It is imperative to comply with our requirements without reverting to additional schemes of taxation. It is essential to carry the popular feeling along with us in the reform. The subject demands from our rulers the highest and most assiduous investigation. Our hopes of a renovated police may fail. But whether they shall fail or not, of one thing at least we are assured, that we shall never secure the better administration of our village watch, or improve its organization through the instrumentality of a *punchayet* or of a third class municipality. Here success is not doubtful, but impossible: the catastrophe will be complete. It is not difficult to find fault with the fruits of our recent legislation. The Chowkeedaree Law is bad. The Road Cess Act is oppressive and unworkable. The Establishments' Bill has not met with favour. The Municipalities' Bill has not yet received the sanction of the Viceroy. But of all the failures that have lately been enacted in the Bengal Council Chamber, we venture to declare that this deliberate attempt to perpetuate the evil of a decentralized police is not the least injurious.

H. J. S. C.

ART. V.—THE TRUE TEST OF A REVELATION—
WHAT IS IT?

THE remarks upon the "heathen," made by the Archbishop of Canterbury a few months ago, produced a very brisk discussion on the comparative merits of the various religions which at present possess the world. It is rather the fashion at the present time to speak lightly of religious differences, as matters of small consequence—to stigmatise all earnest convictions regarding the invisible world as "bigotry" or "sectarianism"—and to invoke a spurious form of toleration, whereby Hindoos, Muhammadans and Christians are to meet and embrace on some abstract ground of a common humanity. This kind of talk is only one form of that pernicious bunkum which has so deeply corrupted the manliness and veracity of the age. Differences of religion will never be brought into agreement by the use of fine phrases. A man's religious faith goes down to the very roots of his existence, and gives its form and colour to every thought and action of his life. It takes him out of the category of an abstract humanity, and converts him into an *individual*, deriving mental food and vigour from that which is peculiarly his own—from that which is an essential part of his single and distinct idiosyncrasy—not that which he possesses in common with all the rest of the world. A union of humanity which was effected by ignoring and leaving out of sight all those profound personal convictions which distinguished one man from another, would be profitable for nothing, even supposing it to be possible. It could only result in a superficial contact of mind with mind, such as takes place at a dinner table or in a ball room. It is in truth precisely that form of intercourse dignified by a high-sounding appellation. Our difference will only then be reconciled when we have dug down below them to the common soil from which they have all sprung; and this we can never do, without producing these differences into the full light of day, examining their nature, and tracing them backward to their roots. There is, however, abundant reason, at least on the surface, why people should shrink from these delicate investigations. Though prefaced with loud protestations that the inquirer is urged by no motive other than a single-minded desire to arrive at the truth, the investigation itself, in nine cases out of ten, lapses into angry assertions of the inquirer's own religion being so manifestly superior to every one else's, that only blind and unreasoning prejudice could maintain the contrary. This was very much the case in the discussion provoked by the remarks of the Archbishop. The usual mode of argument was something like this. An advo-

cate for Christianity produced some eminent Christian saint, and summoned "the heathen" to behold him as a sample of the article *his* religion could turn out. Immediately the Hindoo and Muhammadan produced their saints, which they declared to be as good if not better than the Christian's selected specimen. Or perhaps the Christian produced a text—"love your enemies" or some other—and demanded of Hindoo and Muhammadan if they could equal that. Or he denounced the low morality of Asia, and was instantly met with the retort that the Haymarket at 10 o'clock at night was the sort of moral state engendered by the prevalence of Christianity, and that "the heathen" were not prepared to accept that as an improvement upon their present condition. It is plain that an argument of this kind might be carried on indefinitely without coming to a conclusion, or approaching to the heart of the matter. And that, as was the case in the discussion which has given occasion to this paper, the only result would be to confirm that indifferentism which says, that all religions are much of a muchness—that they all produce good men—that they all include good moral precepts—that morality all over the world is very much on one level—and that therefore it must be of very little consequence whether a man is Christian, Hindoo, Muhammadan or Jew. This, indeed, is a feeling which prevails very widely at the present time, though all history gives the lie to it. And it is surely an obvious truism to say, that a man who believes that the world is governed by a Power, whose declared will and purpose it is to eradicate all mental and physical evil from his universe, must go forth to combat that evil with a courage and confidence which cannot be felt by those who are not animated by such a faith. It would be considered absurd to decide upon the character of a man, not by the whole tenor of his life, but by isolated sentiments he may, at moments, have given utterance to. Not less absurd is it to compare Christianity with other religions, by balancing a few good men in the one faith against a few good men in another, or the ethics of the one religion with those of the others. It is the whole history of a faith which alone can furnish an adequate test of its value to humanity, and *a fortiori* of its divine origin. What has it done in the past? What power of progressive life is there still manifest in it?

Take Islamism. What has it done for mankind in the past? Absolutely nothing. The Arabs, among whom it rose, are as wild, savage, ignorant and blood-thirsty as at the moment of its first promulgation,—nay more, the Bedouin of to-day is in many respects greatly inferior to his ancestor in the days before Islam. The poetry of the pre-Islamite period reveals to us among these rude and untutored people a profound recognition of the purity and dignity of woman, and a passionate sense of the beauty of love,

which the sensualism of Muhammadanism has completely eradicated. Wherever else the faith of the Prophet has penetrated, it has descended like a blight upon the land. In Asia, in northern Africa, in Europe, whatever country professes this creed, has less of moral strength, less of intellectual culture—has receded, in fact, at all points from the position it held when the banners of Islam were first unfolded within it. The history of every such country is a monotonous recital of one frightful military despotism established on the ruins of another, and trampling out in its ensanguined career every spark of civil and national life. Intellectual progress, throughout the territories of Islam, there has been none. We make bold to say that there are not a dozen Muhammadan works in philosophy, science or religion which, otherwise than as a historical curiosity, it would be worth while to translate into any Western language. So much for the Past. Is the prospect any brighter in the future? Assuredly not. The regions of Islam are at present but a gigantic corpse rapidly falling into utter corruption.

The condition of Hindooism is not essentially different. Starting, as it did, with a deeper and wider apprehension of the needs of human nature, the Hindoo faith has effected far more for its votaries than was possible to the creed of Muhammad. But the whole tenor of its history has been much the same. It has steadily degenerated as it receded from its fountain head, until the great primary beliefs, from which it derived its power and inspiration, have practically been lost and destroyed. It has shown its want of recuperative power by the fate which has attended every endeavour to purify it. Buddhism and Brahmoism have been cast out of its bosom as vile and unclean; the followers of Chaitanya and Nanuk have sunk below the level of the faith they were intended to elevate. And now it too, like Islam, lies prostrate, a gigantic corpse which every one knows can never stand upon its feet again, though it must, for many a long year, encumber the earth. The soul of it that used to seek communion with the unseen world in pathless forests and solitary mountain tops, and uttered forth in philosophy and song the secrets that there it learned, departed centuries ago. Whatever is reserved for India in the years to come, this at least is certain, that she can only begin to progress when she has cut herself completely adrift from the huge husk of a dead faith, which at present imprisons her.

But even if the past history and present condition of Muhammadanism and Hindooism were not a sufficient proof that they at least are not fed from any perennial spring of divine life, there is another evidence which ought to convince the most sceptical. A scheme of life which derives its origin direct from God must at least be the most powerful, the most advanced, and the most progressive to be found in the world. If we find beyond its

limits a wholly different scheme of life, which accomplishes all or nearly all wherein it has failed—which is rich in art, science, in poetry and in thought—which nourishes within its influence a deeper and more complex, a richer and more vigorous life ;—if we find that when these two schemes of life are brought in contact, the Hindoo or Muhammadan interpretation of the dealings of God with men, “trembles like a guilty think surprised,”—confesses itself, so to speak, to be a miserable impostor,—gives up the ghost in fact, and is only galvanised into a semblance of life by the assiduous exertions of its natural opponents,—we are driven to the conclusion either that there is a stronger power than God to be found in the universe, or that the Muhammadan or Hindoo notions of God cannot be the true ones. This is precisely the condition of the world at present, and has been for nearly two thousand years. So far as the Eastern world is concerned, the last spark of national and progressive life perished with the latest of the Jewish Prophets. Since that time Asia has been held in fetters by an unbroken series of despots and has steadily retrograded. But all this time there has been in the West, a movement in the opposite direction—a movement, all the more interesting to follow because at every stage of its career we can see the “strong things of this world” striving to arrest it—endeavouring in every way that ingenuity could devise to cast the free spirit of the West into the same iron mould which has closed around the East. Wars and persecutions, despots and persecutors—of these and of other enemies of mankind, there has been no lack in Europe. But the striking difference between East and West is, that in the one hemisphere the persecutors and despots have triumphed. They have crushed out all intellectual life, and the very desire for freedom, and made the people crouch and kiss the hand that smote them.* Whereas in the West, there has been a spirit of truth and freedom which has shown itself stronger than that of religious persecution and military despotism ; which has fought on century after century seemingly against hopeless odds, but ever winning new victories. The complete triumph, it is true, still lies away from us, in an indefinitely remote future, but if men are ever destined to attain that goal, it will not be by falling back on the precepts of Hindooism or Muhammad, but by bringing Western life more completely into harmony with its own fundamental convictions. If, then, we are to seek for a revelation of God anywhere, it must be in the West. To carry out such an inquiry with the thoroughness and detail adequate to its importance would require a volume. In the present paper we propose to do no more than to sketch out the method of investigation that ought to be adopted.

In attempting even this little, we shall have to assume as true, certain propositions which are vehemently denied by many eminent living men. There are certain thinkers—among whom Mr. Herbert Spencer and Professor Huxley are the best known—who admit the existence of God, but deny that he can by any possibility make himself known to men. They call him “the unknown and unknowable God,”—without apparently perceiving the contradiction involved in this phraseology. For if God be *unknown*, man cannot be in a position to say he is *unknowable*. If, on the other hand, we admit that he is *unknowable*, we debar ourselves by that very admission from speaking of Him as *unknown*. “It is,” says Mr. Martineau, “matter indeed of natural wonder that men who, standing before the First Cause professedly feel themselves in face of the impenetrable abyss of *all* possibilities, should take on themselves to expel that *one* possibility, that the Supreme reality should be capable of self-revelation. Among the indeterminate cases comprised in their inscrutable abyss, they cannot help including this—that the Mysterious Being *may* be Conscious Mind. Let them deny this, and their profession of impartial darkness becomes an empty affectation; they so far exchange their attitude of suspense for one of dogmatism. Let them admit it: and how, with the possibility of God, can they combine an impossibility of revelation? Who is this uncreated that can come forth into the field of existence and fill it all, yet by no crevice can find entrance into the field of thought?—that can fling the universal order and beauty into light and space, yet not tell his idea to a single soul?—That can bid the universe into being, yet not say “Lo, it is I.” But we have not mentioned the opinion in order to argue against it. To do so would carry us too far from our proper subject. We shall simply set it aside, assuming for our present purpose as a historical fact, that there has been among all nations an intense craving after a knowledge of God; and assuming also, that there is a God who can, if he so pleases, manifest himself to the reason and conscience of his creatures. Is there in history any evidence that he has ever vouchsafed such a manifestation? In making such inquiry we must be careful not to *assume* the very thing we wish to *prove*. We may not, for example, *assume* that the Bible is an inspired book, or that the writers in it were miraculously preserved from error, or that the Jewish people were specially called out by God to make his name known to the world; we may not in like manner argue *back* from the New Testament to the Old, or cite the words of Christ as establishing the veracity of prophets and psalmists; we are for the present to walk by reason and not by faith, to establish each assertion that we make by the

evidence of history, and to expect no greater credence from our readers than the evidence itself will compel. The Hindoo and Muhammadan beliefs having broken down under the touchstone of experience, we are about to see whether, under the same process, Christianity will or will not lead us to a confession of its divine origin.

Long ago, in a remote past, an Arab Sheikh dwelling in Ur of the Chaldees, received what he believed to be a call from God which said to him "*Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house unto a land that I will show thee, and I will make thee a great nation, and I will bless thee and make thy name great, and thou shalt be a blessing; and I will bless them that bless thee, and curse him that curseth thee; and in thy seed shall all the families of the earth be blessed.*" In obedience to this call, Abraham leaves his home, and takes up his abode in the land of Canaan. The years pass by; Abraham is gathered to his fathers; but his descendants have multiplied and become a power in their adopted country; rich in flocks and herds, in men-servants and women-servants. Externally they have little to distinguish them from the people among whom they live. Their annals are stained by family quarrels, by acts of treachery, cruelty and profligacy, such as we should expect to find in a company of untutored, wandering shepherds. But they are held together by an invisible tie which cuts them off sharply from the surrounding peoples. They worship the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob; they are heirs of the promises that He made to the Chaldean Sheikh; their sons, they doubt not, will be monarchs of all that fair land which stretches away on every side around their encampment, until it meets the horizon. The years pass by and a series of strange vicissitudes have translated the descendants of Abraham—now grown into a numerous people—from the free shepherd life of Palestine to the hard servitude of Egypt. The story of their captivity and deliverance is too well known to require repetition, but the profound significance of those memorable events is lost by reason of that very familiarity. Pharaoh and his Egyptians are little more than names to us; Moses and his Israelites familiar in our mouths as household words. Pharaoh and all his splendour have passed away from the earth, leaving no sign behind them; Moses remains and will remain for ever one of the grandest characters in history, and we are so accustomed to contemplate them in this relation; that it is with difficulty we can picture them to ourselves in any other. But think what it was before the deliverance was achieved. On the one side there is the mightiest despot of primeval time—"the Pharaoh of Egypt, the Child of the Sun, the Beloved of Ammon"—clothed in all the outward splendour of pomp

and power and magnificence, endowed inwardly with all the semi-divine attributes which the superstition and instinctive veneration of that time delighted to throw around their monarchs—the very embodiment in fact of human greatness and unquestioned force. On the the other side, a simple shepherd—one of an oppressed and downtrodden nation of slaves,—whose seemingly hopeless mission it is to convince this tremendous potentate, that there is a Power fighting for the slave stronger than all the might of Egypt—that it matters not whether or not he consents to let the people go, because this Power will Himself lead them forth with a mighty hand and a stretched-out arm. And then the nature of the conflict—there is nothing to be found like it in the history of the world. There is no Marathon or Plataea, where the discipline and valour of the few show themselves to be stronger than a barbarian world in arms. There is no long struggle for life and death, during which we can see the horde of slaves being gradually knit into a nation, gradually developing latent powers of the mind, until, as through a baptism of fire, they enter into the condition of free men. It is throughout a single combat, Moses against Pharaoh. It would be foreign to the purpose of this paper to enter into a discussion on the precise nature of the ten plagues that fell upon Egypt. It is with the *time* of their occurrence and their *effect* upon the mind of Pharaoh that we are concerned. A succession of shocks, increasing in severity, are carried home to the conscience of the mighty Eastern king through no other visible agency than that of the solitary Israelite standing before him. Whatever their precise nature, they produce the result intended. They convince Pharaoh and all Egypt, that those slaves whom they had been used to treat as beasts of burden, were under the protection of a Being mightier far than Pharaoh. “Egypt was glad at their departing for they were afraid of them.”

And so also in their final deliverance on the shores of the Red Sea, the true miracle—the sign, that *is*, of God’s presence and protection—lies in the destruction of the Egyptians, not in the exact manner in which that destruction was effected. But here, as in Egypt, that which distinguishes it from all other deliverances recorded in history is the absence of human effort. The horde of slaves, even in their last extremity of despair, do not become converted into a nation of warriors capable of contending with the power of Egypt. They tremble and bewail themselves like the slaves they were. “Because there were no graves in Egypt, hast thou taken us away to die in the wilderness? It had been better for us to serve the Egyptians than that we should die in the wilderness.” And here, as in Egypt, the answer is that nothing is required of *them*. “*Stand still*, and see the salvation of the Lord which he will shew to you to day.” And so they are saved without stretching out a

hand or unsheathing a weapon in their own defence. The memory of these events sinks deep down into the heart of the people; it is passed on with undiminished vividness from generation to generation, appears and reappears in their magnificent poetry, in the table of their law, in every crisis of their history, but always—and here is the significant circumstance—with no self-glorification, no endeavour to represent the exodus from Egypt as a great national uprising against oppression. Moses and the people are alike set aside, and God is invariably represented as the *sole* agent in their deliverance. “I am the Lord thy God, who brought thee forth out of the Land of Egypt and out of the House of Bondage”——“Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord; awake as in the ancient days, in the generations of old. Art thou not it which hath dried the sea, the waters of the great deep; that hath made the depths of the sea a way for the ransomed to pass over.”——“The waters saw Thee, O God, the waters saw Thee, and were afraid; the depths also were troubled.”——“The springs of waters were seen, and the foundations of the round world were discovered at thy chiding, O Lord, at the blasting of the breath of thy displeasure.” Such passages are only a few of many which will at once occur to all readers of the Old Testament. They express the innermost spirit of the Jew—his profound conviction of the absolute dependence of himself and all his nation upon the God revealed to Abraham. A further revelation awaits them. The House of Bondage lies far away behind them; they have seen the dead bodies of Pharaoh and his soldiers scattered along the shores of the ocean, and now among the barren mountains of Sinai, they are to learn the character of that Being who has done such great things for them. And this is his character. “*The Lord God, merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth, keeping mercy for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression and sin, and that will by no means clear the guilty; visiting the iniquity of the fathers upon the children, and upon the children’s children, unto the third and to the fourth generation.*” A truly wonderful revelation, may we not say with Dean Milman, to have been entrusted to a wandering horde of barbarous Bedouins?

Here, then, we have reached the foundation of the Jewish Polity. In a world given up to every species of cruel and obscene idolatry,—a world worshipping demons of lust and murder,—bowing down in abject fear before the phenomena of nature,* or the embodiment of arbitrary power, in some human tyrant—the Israelite had learned to confess the one Righteous and invisible God, a “merciful and gracious, long suffering and abundant in goodness and truth” but “that will by no means clear the

guilty." To apprehend this revelation in something of its fullness and depth—to become a living witness of its truth to the world beyond—this was the mission (at least so they believed) of the Jewish nation. In direct contrast to all the religions of the old world, the rites and sacrifices of which were all devices intended to propitiate an angry deity—attacks, so to speak, upon the weak side of his character to wring those favours from him, which of his own free will he would have withheld—every thing in the Jewish ritual started from the divine ground. The sacrifices of the temple were the appointment of God Himself—witnesses to the sinner that God *never* changed, that the way to a reconciliation was *never* closed against him. There was no attempt made to raise the Jewish people to a height of abstract theism, above the level of that age, and totally alien to the character of the nation. A law, a priesthood, sacrifices, and temples—these all existed in Egypt. The Israelite needed them as much as the Egyptian. But in Egypt all this religious pomp and ceremony were supposed to reveal the will of a *hidden* God, who had delegated the interpretation of that will to a priestly hierarchy. Men prayed and sacrificed for the best, but unknowing what they did; and in times of calamity or peril, the sacrifices to Moloch—those hours to propitiate the anger of an unknown though powerful deity. In the temple, all the religious pomp and ceremony were the appointed worship of a God who had come from this obscure land, and cast aside the veil which the world had enfolded around Him, and revealed Himself as the Father of all, suffering and abundant in goodness and truth.

The sacrifices of the heathen world expressed a deep and urgent need of the human heart, and as such they were adopted into the Jewish ritual, but their foundations were laid in the will of God, and not the sin stricken conscience of the creature, creating a God after the confusions of his own mind. There was, of course, the perpetual danger of a relapse into the old heathen attitude, and the whole history of the Jewish people is in fact a series of such relapses. But there was an *order*, in the realm—the true successors of Moses, and stronger than kings, priests and peoples,—the schools of the prophets who would not permit the old faith to die out. As the Assyrian and Babylonian storms burst in fury over the land, their voices rose like the chorus of a tremendous tragedy over the wreck of every ruined city, pleading in the interests of truth and justice; calling all men to witness of the feebleness of sin. "The prophet," to quote the words of a great religious teacher, "lived as the witness of a continual presence and power dwelling in the nation, which it may forget, but of which it cannot rid itself. He must rise up as the em-

blem of the conscience he awakens, of the law concerning which he testifies; he must come as a thief in the night upon the guilty soul; he must not allow it to forget itself in the dizzy whirl of events, or the monotony of observances; he must make it feel that one, as much as the other, speak of a living person, who is coming out of his place to judge, whose day is at hand. To fasten this fact upon the mind and heart of the people, he must oftentimes do strange acts; he and his children are for signs and wonders; he must walk barefoot; he must carry on a mimic siege; he must see his wife die and not weep; he must marry an adulteress;—by all means he must break the yoke of familiarity and custom, and yet he is most orderly. From first to last he is a witness for order. The neglect of institutions, the indifference to divine precepts, the recklessness of the everlasting covenant—these are his charges against kings, and priests and people.” And hence also even in his deepest anguish, the prophet could look forward in perfect confidence to the destruction of that Northern Empire which, with the might of brute force was breaking the nations into pieces. He could discern beyond the clouds and tempests the breaking of a brighter day, when the chosen people, purified by suffering, should return to their own land. “How beautiful,” he cries, “upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings, that publisheth peace, that saith unto Zion, thy God reigneth. Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem; for the Lord hath comforted his people, he hath redeemed Jerusalem.” Then, when they had become worshippers of the living God, in deed and in truth, the promise to Abraham would be fulfilled, and they would become a blessing to all the nations of the world.

Such, briefly stated, are the facts (denied by no one) which have to be accounted for in the history of the Jewish people, and whatever inference we draw from them, all at least must admit that they are unique. The Jews are, in a special sense, a peculiar people. Their history and their literature have had, and still continue to have, a power to rouse the energies and elevate the thoughts of whole communities for which there is no counterpart in history. In general, the strains that will rouse one nation to madness fall altogether flat upon minds brought up in other countries, and other influences. Not so with Jewish psalm or prophecy. They speak with undiminished power in any language, and in any clime, where the feeling of nationality exists.* And they do

* De Quincy has some very striking remarks on this characteristic of Jewish literature. “Greece,” he says, “was in fact too ebullient with intellectual activity—an activity too palestric and purely human—so that

the opposite pole of the mind which points to the mysterious and spiritual was in the agile Greek—too intensely a child of the earth—starved and palsied; whilst in the Hebrew dull and inert intellectually, but in his

so because Jewish psalmist and prophet speak, not of something which they have learned at second hand, but of that which they *know*. No one will be hardy enough to deny that Moses was possessed with an overwhelming conviction that the God of Abraham of Isaac and of Jacob had commissioned him to lead their descendants from Egypt to the promised land. No one would venture to assert for a moment that Isaiah was using a mere figure of speech when he spoke of "the Word of the Lord" as coming to him in the days of Jotham, Uzziah, Ahaz and Hezekiah; or that Micah meant nothing more than is contained in a modern apostrophe to a Muse, when he declared "the *Spirit of the Lord* God is upon me to declare unto Jacob their transgression and to Israel their sin;" or that Jeremiah spoke other than words of the deepest sincerity when he declared that "the Word of God was like a burning fire shut up in his bones," compelling him to speak. No one doubts that all such expressions were, so to speak, forced from the lips of the great Hebrew teachers by the stress of terrible inward experiences. No one would deny that these experiences were not special and peculiar to themselves, but common, though in varying degrees of intensity, to the whole Jewish people; that their idolatrous propensities were but the upper stratum of a character which drew its sustaining power, and all its distinctive peculiarities, from an indestructible conviction that they were a people chosen by the invisible God to make known His name to a world sunk in idolatry.

No one—Christian or sceptic—denies these things; a divergence takes place when judgment is given as to whether

spiritual organs awake and sublime, the case was precisely reversed. Yet, after all, the result was immeasurably in favor of the Hebrew. Speaking in the deep sincerities of the solitary and musing heart which refuses to be duped by the whistling of names, we must say of the Greek that he has won the admiration of the human race; he is numbered among the chief brilliancies of the earth; but on the deeper and more abiding nature of man he has no hold. He will perish when any deluge of calamity overtakes the libraries of our planet, or if any great revolution of thought remoulds them, and will be remembered only as a generation of flowers is remembered; with the same tenderness of feeling, and the same pathetic sense of a natural predestination to evanescence. Whereas the Hebrew by introducing him-

self to the secret places of the human heart, and sitting there as incubator over the awful germs of the spiritualities that connect man with the unseen world; has perpetuated himself as a power in the human system; he is co-enduring with man's race, and careless of all revolutions in literature or in the composition of society. The very languages of these two races repeat the same expression of their intellectual differences, and of the differences in their missions. The Hebrew meagre and sterile as regards the numerical wealth of its ideas, is infinite as regards their power; the Greek, on the other hand, rich as tropic forests in the polymorphous life, the life of the dividing and distinguishing intellect, is weak only in the supreme region of thought. DeQuincy's Works, vol. ix., p. 80.

this belief of the Jewish people was a delusion of the imagination, or justified by the objective truth of things. In other words, had God revealed Himself to them, or did they merely dream that He had done so? This, we hold to be, the most momentous question that man can propose to himself, for it is indubitable that if the Jewish belief was not the product of an actual revelation of God, the spiritual aspirations of mankind everywhere must melt away like the baseless fabric of a vision. If God did not make Himself known to the Jews, he has certainly done so to no other people under the sun. The first great characteristic which marks off the Jewish faith is the fact of *growth*. It did not spring up full formed in the brains of a single man, or even of a single generation, to be written out in a book and made incapable of change thenceforth. It was what, in modern parlance, would be called, a strictly scientific faith, gradually approximating to completion, and gathering strength from the accumulated experiences of many generations. And these experiences—at least the most critical of them—were not subjective only, but took the shape of marvellous deliverances which carried home the conviction of God's presence to hearts altogether out of the range of the peculiar influences which might be supposed to have moulded Jewish thought into a monotheistic form. It is possible to conceive that a man in the position of Moses—a solitary exile from Egypt, under penalty of death—might have dreamed that he had a divine commission to free his fellow captives from the yoke of Pharaoh, and conduct them back to land promised their forefathers; it is possible, though much more difficult, to conceive that a fanatic possessed by this belief might actually have expected to prevail over Pharaoh without having any material resources to appeal to; but it is utterly impossible that a visionary belief on his side could have worked with all the power of a reality on the mind of Pharaoh. That monarch would not have consented to part with a multitude of slaves in obedience to the dictum of one who must have appeared to him as a half crazy fanatic. God *must* in some way have responded to the call of Moses, to have produced a conviction of His power in the mind of the Egyptian king. The Old Testament records the manner in which that conviction was effected; but the evidence of a direct revelation of God's power and purposes—of a direct discovery made to Pharaoh and his people, that Moses and Aaron were in truth the messengers of One who could blight their splendour and greatness by a word—is altogether unaffected whether we regard the ten plagues as natural or supernatural occurrences. Their *effect* it is we have to look to—the conviction they wrought into the mind of the Egyptian not less than the Israelite that the powers of nature the Egyptian worshipped were under

a Being above them all who was speaking by the mouth of Moses. And so also with the passage of the Red Sea. The usual manner of pronouncing judgment on these (so called) miraculous occurrences, is to tear them away from their context, and ask ourselves if the thing *per se* is credible or not. But it was not what we should call the supernaturalism of the passage across the Red Sea which gave it its peculiar significance in the mind of the Israelite. It was that at their hour of extreme peril, the same God that had brought them forth out of Egypt interposed yet once again—a very present help in time of trouble—and therefore, that they would have no fear though the earth were moved, and the mountains were carried into the midst of the sea. It is the *deliverance* itself and not the exact means by which it was effected that is the all-important point. Out of that deliverance grew the Jewish nation, and all the Jewish literature; and every event of their after history is a confirmation of the meaning they read in the passage of the Red Sea. They were a great and prosperous nation in precise proportion to the depth of their belief in the God who had led them out of Egypt; they became a prey to the nations around them exactly as they lost their trust in Him, and hoped that idols would protect them. And the history of every nation under the sun is an independent testimony leading up to the same conviction.

It would, moreover, be nothing less than a miracle if a mere delusion of the imagination should have wrought the effects manifest in Jewish literature. All nations have had their aspirations after God; all nations have had their religious writings; but that direct and immediate intuition of God's presence, which is the special attribute of Jewish bard and prophet, belongs to them alone. Beyond the circle of their literature, we pass into the light of common day. All this evidence, as we know, is rejected as insufficient by many learned men, but it is in its nature and completeness as strong as that on which we act with the utmost certainty. How do we know that we need food? By the exhaustion which supervenes if we abstain from it. How do we know that food corrects this exhaustion? By the renewed vigour that ensues so soon as we have partaken of it. Precisely similar were the experiences of the Jewish nation; precisely similar have been the experiences of every people who have walked in the light of the same faith. They have all felt the need of the God who brought his people out of the land of bondage, by the weakness, physical and mental, which has overtaken them when they have learned to trust in other gods; they have all felt the same renewing of spiritual and intellectual energies when they have striven to become the servants of One, "who will by no means clear the guilty." Of

course the rationalistic explanation is that these results are brought about by an imaginative delusion. But this explanation is purely arbitrary, and seems to us absurd on the face of it. A man cannot recruit his physical strength by an imaginary dinner ; and it is purely inconceivable that the mind should renew its strength without borrowing from some reservoir outside of itself. Besides, why should this renewed vigour be obtained by the imagination only when brooding over the Jewish faith? Why should that faith remain a perennial spring of mental vigour and human progress, and no similar results proceed from the devout imaginings of Hindoo and Muhamadan? There is no answer to be given to these questions, except that the one faith is based upon the everlasting realities, and has its roots directly watered by the springs of eternal life, and that the other beliefs at least in their present corrupted condition, are not so fortunate.

But the revelation accorded to the Jews was confessedly incomplete—incomplete by the acknowledgment of the very men who lived in the light of it. Mr. Maine in his work on “Ancient Law” has set forth with inimitable force and clearness the long and gradual process whereby the individual is segregated from the mass of the community into separate, self-conscious life—how the family, the primary unit, develops into the tribe, the tribe into the nation, and how out of the idea of the nation, the individual emerges with his own peculiar rights and duties which none can share with him. With this external development there also comes a habit of introspection, which gradually subordinates the mere outward act to the abiding motive from which it springs. We can see this change being gradually worked out through all the Old Testament writings and leading up to a consciousness, ever becoming clearer and clearer, that it was not possible for the blood of bulls and of goats to take away sins. The need for an inward change to reconcile men with God, breaks out in the writings of psalmists and prophets in almost fierce denunciations of the Mosaic ritualism, which seemed to them to positively deaden the hearts of the people. “Your new moons, and your appointed feasts my soul hateth ; they are a trouble unto me ; I am weary to bear them Wash you, make you clean ; put away the evil of your doings from before mine eyes ; cease to do evil ; learn to do well.”—“I am God, even thy God. I will not reprove thee, for thy sacrifices or thy burnt offerings to have been continually before me. I will take no bullock out of thy house, nor he goat out of thy folds ; for every beast of the forest is mine, and so are the cattle upon a thousand hills Offer unto God thanksgiving and pay thy vows unto the most High.” “Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or ten thousands of rivers

of oil? He hath showed thee, O man, what is good ; and what doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." Out of such feelings gushed that stream of on-looking thought that beheld in anticipation a fuller discovery of God's nature, which we can trace back to the time of Abraham himself, and which flows with an increasing volume to the very close of the old dispensation. This is what is commonly called the " predictions of the Messiah." " It was," writes Dean Stanley, " the distinguishing mark of the Jewish people that their golden age was not in the past but in the future ; that their greatest hero (as they deemed Him to be) was not their founder, but their founder's latest descendant. Their traditions, their fancies, their glories, gathered round the head not of a chief, or warrior, or sage that had been, but of a king, a deliverer, a prophet who was to come. Of this singular expectation the prophets were, if not the chief authors, at least the chief exponents. Sometimes He is named, sometimes He is unnamed ; sometimes he is almost identified with some actual prince of the coming or the present generation, sometimes he recedes into the distant ages. But again and again, at least in the later prophetic writings, the vista is closed by His person, His character, His reign. And almost everywhere, the prophetic spirit, in the delineation of His coming, remains true to itself. He is to be a king, a conqueror, yet not by the common weapons of earthly warfare, but by those only weapons which the prophetic order recognised—by justice, mercy, truth, and goodness,—by suffering, by endurance, by identification of Himself with the joys, the sufferings of His nation, by opening a wider sympathy to the whole human race than had ever been opened before. That this expectation, however explained, existed in a greater or less degree amongst the prophets, is not doubted by any theologians of any school whatever. It is no matter of controversy. It is a simple and universally recognised fact that, filled with these prophetic images, the whole Jewish nation—nay, at last the whole Eastern world—did look forward with longing expectation to the coming of this future conqueror. Was this unparalleled expectation realised ? And here again I speak only of facts which are acknowledged by Germans, and Frenchmen, no less than by Englishmen ; by critics and by sceptics even more fully than by theologians and ecclesiastics. There did arise out of this nation a character, by universal consent, as unparalleled as the expectation which had preceded him. Jesus of Nazareth was, on the most superficial no less than on the deepest view we take of His coming, the greatest name, the most extraordinary power, that has ever crossed the stage of history. And this greatness consisted not in outward power, but precisely in those qualities on which, from first to last, the prophetic order

had laid the utmost stress—justice and love, goodness and truth.” *

This passage is most important for our present purpose. The usual method in which “destructive criticism” treats the life of Christ, is to take the four gospels, as something isolated and wholly apart from the current of ordinary history, to strike out the miraculous element as incredible on *a priori* grounds, and then out of the mutilated residue, to build up a wholly imaginary figure as the veritable Jesus of Nazareth. It is not likely that for this kind of work, a more accomplished artificer than M. Renan will ever present himself, and there are not, we fancy, two opinions among men competent to judge, that his delineation of the founder of Christianity,—part enthusiast, part cheat, and wholly sentimental Frenchman,—is little better than a pitiful absurdity. The fact is that the method on which “destructive criticism” sets to work, excludes the possibility of reconstruction, and is ridiculous on the face of it. If a man chooses to reject the incidents in the New Testament on the ground of their inherent incredibility, that is an intelligible position ; but it is the merest folly and presumption, having done so, to call upon the world to accept another version of them which must either be derived from those documents he has rejected as untrustworthy, or be wholly evolved from his own imagination. To the present writer, at least, it seems impossible to cast aside the supernaturalism of the New Testament, without reducing the early history of the Christian Church to an utterly unintelligible chaos. That Christ was the Son of God, that He rose from the dead, and ascended into Heaven, were proclaimed as facts by his followers *immediately* after his death, and years before any of the Gospels, as we have them, had come into being. They constituted the very ground and reason of the new faith ; every hope, every promise held out to the believer, is conditional on their truth. “*If Christ*” says St. Paul, “*be not risen from the dead, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain.*” No doubt, if we simply ask ourselves whether it is credible that the son of a Jewish carpenter should rise from the dead and ascend into heaven, we must at once acknowledge that it is wholly incredible. But this is not the way to ascertain the truth of any event whatsoever recorded in history. An event may easily be incredible *per se*, and yet be quite natural when looked at in connection with the past and the future. Before pronouncing judgment, there are, in fact, three questions to be considered. 1.—Was there anything in the past history of the world which seemed to lead up to such an event? 2.—Supposing such an event to have happened, are the accounts we have of it consistent—do they,

* Lectures on the Jewish Church. Vol. I. p. 471-2.

that is, show that if the anticipations were to be fulfilled, they could only have been so in this way? 3.—Does the after history of the world, by its character and events, show that those anticipations were actually fulfilled in the manner described?

The first of these questions we have already answered. We find that about the time of the coming of Christ, there was a general expectation in the East of some marvellous King or Deliverer, who was to establish the kingdom of God on the earth. This expectation, we also find, had been fostered and disseminated by one particular nation called out, according to their own account, by God Himself for this very purpose. The Deliverer, who was to redeem His people from their sins, would, they said, be one of their nation. We have examined what ground there is for supposing that this particular people were in any special sense witnesses of God. We have found that the conviction had been forced into their minds by a series of events, which were manifestly out of the ordinary course of nature; we have found moreover that this which they declared it was their mission to do,—to spread the knowledge of God—they actually have done; that their teaching is instinct with a direct and immediate intuition of God's presence which belongs to no other literature; that five thousand years of history have confirmed the truth of the principles they taught, and that they still speak with undiminished power to the most advanced nations of the world. All these facts taken together relieve the events related in the New Testament of all their abruptness, and a great deal of their improbability. They show that if there be a providential government of the universe—the hypothesis we assumed as true when starting on this inquiry,—the revelation of God in Christ had been carefully prepared for, and would, if it actually took place, fit into the scheme of things precisely where we find it. We pass on to the second consideration—the nature of the Revelation itself.

The world at that time had almost wholly lost the idea of a gracious and orderly government over the minds and bodies of men. Men deemed themselves to be the slaves of every lust and passion, and conceived the deities who ruled over them to be beings of like character with themselves. Over the whole scheme of things was the notion of an utterly immoral arbitrary force embodied in the Roman Emperor. The Jews formed no exception. Their God was precisely similar in character to the Roman Emperor, only he happened to be invisible. Suddenly in the midst of a world thus sunk in abject subjection to mere force, a voice is heard proclaiming that God is Love—that He wills that all men should be perfect as their Father in heaven is perfect. The voice came from one, moving in the humblest sphere of life, who had “no beauty nor comeliness that men should desire him,” One “who was despised and

rejected, a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief," and yet in spite of all, who taught the people as "one having authority" to do so. When asked for his authority, He declared—or at least so his disciples affirmed—that He was the Light of the world—the Word of God who was at once with God from all eternity, and also the light that lighted every man who had come into the world. His mission, he declared, was to reveal the character of God, and to expound the nature of that kingdom, it was His will to set up among men. This kingdom of heaven, he said, was within a man, and consisted in purity of heart, in a spirit of forgiveness and charity, in a zeal for truth, in an emancipation of the will from its bondage to evil. The object of all his teaching, of every act of His life, was to reconcile men with God—to disabuse, that is, the minds of men of their dark and perverted notions of the Deity, by the manifestation of Him as a Being infinite in power, but infinite also in goodness and mercy and love. And this He accomplished—so his disciples declared—by miracles of healing which were intended as a sign that all pain and disease and suffering were infractions of the Divine Order—by a life of sinless purity to convince men that there was a power-mightier than the sin which held them in subjection—by a Resurrection from the Grave and Ascension into Heaven, to show that even Death was not the ultimate Lord of Life, or the Grave the final goal of man's existence. A startling story, it must be confessed, and one, on the mere face of it, altogether incredible. There are, however, many circumstances connected with it, which have compelled the most sceptical to hesitate before pronouncing it a forgery.

The first point that strikes us is, that *this idea* of a Messiah would never have occurred to a Jewish fanatic or impostor. The Jewish conception of their coming deliverer was gathered from the passages in their books which spoke of him as a mighty king and conqueror. "Who is this that cometh from Edom, with dyed garments from Bozrah, this that is glorious in His apparel, travelling in the greatness of His strength?"—Such were the thoughts they had of Him. They looked for a despot after the Roman pattern, only infinitely more powerful, who would make the Jews the masters of the whole world—transfer, in a word, the Roman dominion to their keeping. The son of a carpenter who kept company with publicans and sinners—who denounced the Pharisees as a generations of vipers doomed to the damnation of hell—who told them to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's—who assumed the right to forgive sins—who wished to make them believe that they had utterly and completely misunderstood the very prophets whose sepulchres they had rebuilt—who affirmed that they and their city, their temple and the whole Jewish polity were on the eve of annihilation, could

certainly have hoped for nothing but a speedy death. Whatever he was, he could not have been an impostor. Impostors do not occupy themselves in compassing their own destruction by a merciless exposure of the moral sores of the society in which they move. Was he a fanatic then? We reject the notion the instant that it is proposed to us. From first to last there is not a trace in the career of Christ of what we understand by fanaticism, or even enthusiasm. He exhibits no haste, no impatience, but moves calmly and majestically forward to a predetermined goal. He predicts the effects of his life and death with no urgency of desire to force assent from his hearers, but as simple inevitable facts which he *knows* will take place. *I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men to me. I am the light of the world. He that believeth on me hath everlasting life.* It is the combination of two antagonistic characters in a single person which makes the delineation of Christ so unique a portrait. We have a complete self-abnegation, an utter dependence on the will of God, combined with an assertion of power over the minds of men which places the speaker far above the level of humanity; and yet both coexist in perfect harmony. The majesty, the all-embracing love, the humility, the stern severity against evil, the tenderness, compassion and forgiveness combine together to form a personality which Shakespeare himself could never have dreamed of—which it is altogether incredible to suppose could have been foisted on the world by a conscious impostor. Either Christ was what he was depicted to be in the Four Gospels, or His disciples represented Him as such after His death. In the latter case we have the wholly inexplicable phenomenon of a few ignorant Galilean fishermen constructing a fiction of unequalled grandeur and beauty, and preaching it as true—For what? For no other conceivable purpose than to obtain for themselves sure and speedy martyrdom.

Now no man in a state of sanity would act thus, and the most sceptical writers are staggered by the difficulty. But they still decide against the authenticity of the Gospel narrative on the *a priori* incredibility of God appearing in human flesh at all. That one difficulty outweighs all the evidence that may be adduced to the contrary. But this particular objection we set aside at starting. We assumed as a fact that God could reveal Himself to men if He pleased, and whether He has done so in this way is the very question which has to be considered. It has at least been asserted that He did, and the records of that event preclude the notion of imposture, and equally of mere imaginative delusion. There is, however, a third test yet to be applied. The Muhammadans believe that their Koran is the word of God, revealed by the Angel Gabriel to the Prophet; the Hin-

does set up a similar claim for their sacred writings, and there can be no doubt that millions of human beings have lived and are living in both faiths. We have, however, rejected their claim to this origin, on the ground that they have not produced the effects which, coming from God, they ought to have done. We have found that Western civilisation is a stronger power than either, a fact which is utterly incompatible with their divine origin. Can Christianity stand this last and conclusive test? Are the effects which it has wrought upon the earth at all proportionate to the splendour of its origin? Are they consistent therewith? Does it still continue to manifest undiminished signs of vitality? Here, as in all other parts of this essay, the want of space precludes the possibility of giving anything approaching to an exhaustive reply to these searching queries. We can only faintly indicate the lines of thought, leaving to the thought and knowledge of our readers to fill in the details.

First then what ought such a religion as Christianity to have accomplished? The usual objection urged against it is that it has not done enough. The sceptic points to the cruel and continual wars that have desolated the face of Europe—the horrible religious persecutions, the massacres, servitude, oppression and mortal animosities which have inprinted themselves in characters of blood on every page of Western history. They urge the present condition of Europe, the profligacy and pauperism that infest the great cities, the commercial dishonesty, the greed after riches, the worship of power—in a word all that ghastly catalogue of evils which seem to flourish with a more than tropic luxuriance in the hot bed of civilisation; and they ask if it be possible, in the face of such things, to maintain that Christianity can be of divine origin. There is no argument which, in this country we meet with in Anglo Indian papers so frequently as this; and there can be no doubt that superficially it seems difficult to answer. It may, certainly, be alleged and with absolute truth—that these evils are not the result of Christianity, but of a disregard of it; but, in the present connection, it is more to the purpose to point out that no other result was ever anticipated by the first preachers of Christianity. *"I am not come to send peace into the world but a sword."* *"Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall wax cold."* Such were the forecasts of Christ. We have moreover in the last book of the New Testament, the very process presented under a series of symbols, whereby the dominion of Christ was to be set up over the nations. Let not the reader be alarmed. We are not about to enter upon the interminable discussion as to the meanings of seals and trumpets. It is the general character only of the book with which we are concerned. There is no softness in it, no dreams of an Arcadian felicity about to

dawn upon the earth ; rather, the absolute certainty of a fiercer conflict than any the world had yet known, recalling almost involuntarily the prophecy of Isaiah.—“ Every battle of the warrior is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood, but *this* shall be *with burning and fuel of fire.*” There are two potent enemies which have to be encountered. Power that does not rest upon a foundation of right and justice, symbolised under the name of Babylon, which whether applied to Nineveh, Babylon or Rome, always typified to the Jewish mind mere brute force, unrighteous power—and Spiritual Beliefs which draw their sustenance from the lusts and superstition of mankind, not from faith and love—symbolised as “ the great city which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt where also our Lord was crucified.” The conflict of the Son of Man against these two powers is depicted under the image of a great battle on the plains of Megiddo,—the scene where, for good or evil, the destiny of the Children of Israel had been so often decided. Behind, indeed, as an English divine has pointed out, there are visions of a most glorious peace, of a wonderful order, of a new Jerusalem descending from God out of heaven. But the way to them is through battle and blood. Is not this precisely what has happened ? Is not this what we see *must* happen if we reflect for a moment upon the nature of man. A man is not a machine, but a free agent who, within certain limits, can either choose to do a thing or not to do it, just as he pleases. If he is what we understand by a bad man, not all the external compulsion in the world can convert him into a good one. Whatever attempts we make with that end in view, must be addressed to his reason and conscience ; we must enlighten them ; we must cause his mind to confess by its own free act its rightful masters, before we can make one step towards his emancipation. This power of choice is the very essence of humanity ; so soon as from any cause whatever a man is deprived of it, he ceases to be a man and sinks into a chattel. The conflict then that the Spirit of Christ had to carry on was in the region of the responsible will. He had to enlighten the “ inner eye ”—to fill it with the beauty of truth, holiness and freedom, until the whole man rose up in protest against the false gods which strove to keep him in subjection. At every such insurrection of the human mind the menaced Spiritual Evil has risen up in wrath, and in obedience to the law of its nature, striven to extinguish its enemy in blood. In the presence of this unceasing struggle we are apt to lose sight of the vast strides the world has actually taken since the days of Christ ; how one dark superstition after another has been chased into the shadows of night ; how every one—even successful tyrants in the very act of consummating their iniquity—acknowledge, in spite of themselves, that their power must be founded upon right and justice if it is to be enduring ; how every

one—at least in the area of Christianity—is so saturated with the conviction of “progress”—“the one Divine, far off event, to which the whole creation moves,”—that the obvious fact of at least three parts of the universe being steadily retrogressive is but as small dust in the balance. Such convictions have become mere common places. They are so inwrought into the very structure of our minds, that many eminent thinkers repel, not without indignation, the notion that man was ever destitute of them ; and yet nothing can be more certain than,—that previous to the appearance of Christ, they had literally no place in human speculation outside of the Jewish people. The golden age for all the rest of the world lay behind, in an infinitely remote past. They are a fulfilment, to the very letter, of the prediction of Christ, that His Spirit should *convince* the world of sin, of righteousness and of judgment. So far then the promises of Christ have not been belied by the result.

The great work which Christ had to do was to reconcile men with God, and this He sought to accomplish by the simple proclamation in his speeches, in his acts, and in his death, that God is love or light, and that in Him is no darkness at all. Here also we find that He has perfectly succeeded. Wherever Christian thought has penetrated, there the old heathen conception of the deity is rapidly and surely dying out ; wherever it has thoroughly interpenetrated the minds of a people, there the old heathen conception of propitiatory sacrifices is remembered only with a sort of blank amazement, as things almost inconceivable on account of their superstitious folly. And here also we find that the Christian conception of the deity has become so inwrought into the mind, that people appeal to it as a proof positive that Christ taught no more than what is innate in every man, and that to assume for him a divine mission on this account is wholly superfluous. And yet nothing can be more certain than this—that the Christian idea of God never arose even dimly in the minds of any, but a solitary thinker here and there, before the coming of Christ, and that to this day it is almost wholly absent from every part of the world which has not been brought into contact with Christian thought. The sudden stir and restlessness of theological thought in this country is altogether due to the presence of this new power. The Spirit of Christ, in spite of the apathy of the Hindoo, and the more active aversion of the Muhammadan, has acted as an inspirer and awakener here as elsewhere.

But Christ's mission was not only to reconcile man with God, but to give to man himself a standard of conduct, not simply embodied in written precepts but set forth in a life. He had to dispart the evil from the good—the false from the true—the pure from the impure—and to exhibit as a power governing every day life, the unsearchable riches that are

latent in our moral and intellectual nature. And all this, he declared, was not to be a mere drama played for once on the theatre of the world,

A lovely apparition sent
To be a moment's ornament.

His Spirit was to abide with men for ever, in order to carry home to the hearts and consciences of the coming generations, the life of Christ as the true measure of humanity. That life and that spirit were to become a new formative power to elevate individual existence to a higher level of thought and action. And here, also, we find that his predictions have been fulfilled to the letter. The familiarity of the fact has caused us in a great measure to lose the sense of its wonderfulness; but is there not, when we reflect upon it, something altogether past finding out in the literature of the New Testament, rising up without effort, without any flourishing of trumpets, but "silently as the spring time its crown of verdure weaves," in one of the most utterly corrupt periods of the world's history. The mind simply bows in silent wonder and thankfulness at the thought of St. Paul, dwelling in the Rome of Nero, chained incessantly to a Roman soldier, and yet looking forward with the calm assurance of untroubled faith to a future day when "there would be neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ would be all and in all." Nor is this all. It may well happen that men of surpassing power and reach of mind may at times mount up to intellectual heights where, like Moses from the summit of Pisgah, they behold the Promised Land spread out before them in peaceful beauty, long before it becomes visible to the sojourner upon the plain. It may, too, and indeed has often happened, that a contagion of fanaticism has spread through masses of men making them for the time indifferent to death. But the unapproachable sublimity of the apostolic teaching was based upon a firm conscious grasp upon truth, which we find coming forth in the lives and acts of the humblest Christians not less than the highest. "The very young and the very old, the child, the youth in the heyday of his passions, the sober man of middle age, maidens and mothers of families, boors and slaves, as well as philosophers and nobles, solitary confessors and companies of men and women,—all these were seen equally to defy the powers of darkness to do their worst. In this strange encounter, it became a point of honour with the Roman to break the determination of his victim, and it was the triumph of faith when his most savage expedients for that purpose were found to be in vain. The martyrs shrank from suffering like other men, but such natural shrinking was incommensurable with apostasy. No intensity of torture had

any means of affecting what was a mental conviction ; and the sovereign Thought in which they had lived was their adequate support and consolation in their death. And when Rome at last found she had to deal with a host of Scævolas, then the proudest of earthly sovereignties arrayed in the completeness of her material resources, humbled herself before a power which was founded on a mere sense of the Unseen.* It is this combination of qualities—calm, heroic endurance in the body of the believers, depth and sublimity in the moral and intellectual teaching of the leaders,—and their ultimate triumph by the persuasive power of conviction, which have stamped upon the early history of Christianity a character of its own. The same characteristics have formed a part of the history of Christendom ever since. There have been—notably in the sixteenth century—crises in the history of Europe—when “the sense of the Unseen” which upheld the primitive martyrs has well-nigh seemed to have faded out of the minds of men—when God has been again thought of in His old heathen guise, as a Being who might be *bribed* to overlook the sins of men—who had no special desire for their inward purification, so long as He duly received an equivalent. And the call, by whatsoever made,—by protestant reformations or French revolutions—which recalled men back to the old “sense of the Unseen” has always brought back with it, as from the grave, the calm, enduring courage of the early martyrs, and to some degree at least, the purity, depth and sublimity of the early teaching. And here is that which distinguishes Christianity from either Islamism or Hindooism; that it is *not* as commonly stated founded upon a book, but upon the sense of the unseen “Word of God” as an ever-present, ever-active power, to enlighten and awaken the individual reason and conscience. “*I am the Light of the World*” says Christ ; “*I am the Way and the Truth and the Life* ;” “*I am the Bread of Life*.” Men have tried, and doubtless will continue to try by all manner of terrible devices, to limit the life of Christ within the circle of their particular opinions, but they cannot do so without a denial of the very foundation of Christianity. It is because they have not succeeded—because in spite of all the frantic efforts of kings and priests and persecutors to dam up the free current of human thought, and compel it to stagnate in artificial channels—the Western mind has never ceased to develop itself in a multitude of new directions, has never failed to burst asunder the chains which were intended to restrain it, has advanced without intermission, harmonising the old with the new, and the new with the old, until the belief in a God of order has altogether superseded the chaos of

* Newman's Grammar of Assent, p. 471.

the old world—it is because all this has been accomplished that we hold Christ's promises to have been fulfilled—that his disappearance from earth did herald in a Spirit of Truth which is guiding the world into all truth.

Here then, is the historical evidence in favour of Christianity. We find that it has its roots far back in the earliest period of history ; that it has grown with the growth of intelligence and the accumulation of experience ; that every such accession of knowledge bears the impress of an eternal truth in that the records which contain it appeal with undiminished power, in spite of the lapse of ages, to the most advanced nations of the world ; that its full manifestation was prepared for by a careful education of mankind for that purpose ; and finally, that the after history of the world has flowed along the channels predicted by Christ, and has resulted in a richer treasury of thought and knowledge, a higher ideal of life, and an infinitely more powerful and expansive order of society than is to be found anywhere beyond the limits of Christianity. As against Islamism and Hindooism this last result is conclusive. Their impotency either to vanquish, or to assimilate the new forces which have assailed their borders, is an indisputable proof that they do *not* possess the key to the mysteries of the universe. But there are still two questions to be answered before our paper is complete. 1.—In what relation does Christianity stand to the other religions of the world? 2.—What proof is there that Christianity itself is not on the eve of extinction, vanquished by the new power that has only just appeared above the horizon, and is commonly known as "Modern Thought?"

Christianity, we have found, asserts itself to be the discovery, or "revelation" of the mind and purposes of God. Its fundamental tenets are that God "has made of one blood (*i.e.* nature) all nations of men, that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him; though he be not far from any one of us, for in Him we live and move and have our being,"—that "when the Gentiles (*i.e.*, the non-Christian world) who have not the law, do by nature the things that are contained in the law, these having not the law are a law unto themselves; which show the works of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness"—that God "is no respecter of persons, but in whatsoever country he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of him"—and finally that "the Word of God"—or in other words, He who manifests forth the character of God, as the spoken word of a man manifests the mind that abides within him—is the Light, not merely of the Christian, but of "every man that comes into the world." The sole claim that the Christian insists upon, is that he is in possession of this knowledge which is of vital importance to all human kind.

When Hindoo and Muhammadan insist upon the good and great men that have risen up under the teaching of their creeds ; when they recall to his memory the many true and beautiful precepts recorded in their sacred books, and ask if these do not testify of a divine origin as indubitably as similar lives and similar precepts which have come forth under the influence of Christianity, the Christian at once admits the justice of the claim. The ground would be cut away from under his feet were he to do otherwise. God, he knows well, has never left himself without a witness upon the earth, seeing He has been everywhere a Light in the hearts of men filling them with joy and gladness—revealing Himself as a law written on their hearts which unfolded before them the idea of duty, the beauty of holiness, and the hatefulness of evil. The lives of all the good men that ever lived, the beautiful precepts that are to be found in every religion under heaven, are so many convincing testimonies of this Divine Presence—the universal privilege of human kind. But this being so, how is it, he asks, that whereas one portion of the world has continually advanced from one stage of enlightenment to another, there has been no similar progress elsewhere. How is it, for example, that a small island like Great Britain should be able to rule, without difficulty, the vast peninsula of Hindoostan ? The conclusion is inevitable,—that European civilisation has entered, according to the expression of Guizot, into the eternal truth, into the plan of Providence ; it advances according to the intentions of God. This is the rational solution of its superiority. Hitherto, as we have indicated in this essay, the spring of this moving and progressive life has been derived from the faith, that the appearance of Christ on the Earth was the discovery to man of “this plan of providence,” of this “eternal truth ;” and the Christian, therefore, who asks Hindoo or Muhammadan to become partakers in his faith, simply seeks to put them in possession of that knowledge which has done such great things. He asks them to give up no partial aspect of the truth which may have discovered itself to them ; he only seeks to disengage them from the obscurities and falsehoods which have veiled the apprehension of the whole. And this is the condemnation if they refuse, that “light is come into the world, but men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.” The whole religious history of the world, Christendom included, is an exact fulfilment of those simple but far-seeing words.

“But” the Hindoo or Muhammadan may reply, “there is now a wholly new difficulty which requires solution. Hitherto, it may be, as you say, that Christianity was indeed and in truth ‘the life of the world,’ but what say you to this new power, ‘modern thought ?’ These writers in the *Fortnightly Review* and else-

where speak of you and your Christianity as already *in articulo mortis*, and declare that we are all to worship a quite new deity to be called "Physical Science" in general, or more particularly 'Evolution.'"

The reply to an inquiry of this kind is difficult on account of the extraordinary vagueness of the expression "modern thought." It is a phrase which rings in one's ears wherever one goes, and it seems to be used as though "modern thought" and "religious scepticism" were convertible terms, and there was no thought in the world except of an utterly sceptical character. Another general impression is that this modern scepticism is of a peculiarly searching and terrific character, dividing asunder the joints and the marrow, and the like of which has never before been seen in the earth. Out of these two impressions—has arisen a vague but wide-spread conviction that the very foundations of Christianity are being rapidly undermined, and the fabric already totters to its fall. Now both of these impressions are grossly exaggerated. By far the larger portion of modern thought is not sceptical at all; although differing widely on many subordinate points, it is anchored firmly on a faith in the divine mission of Christ. Between the ultramontaniam of Archbishop Manning, and the intellectual unitarianism of Mr. Martineau, there is a vast space to be travelled, but the whole intervening distance is filled by names known through all Europe for their learning and genius,—the bearers of which would, all of them, assert their title to be considered the followers of Christ. Mere difference of opinion, as to the relations which some deep central truth has to the whole scheme of things does not, as many people seem to suppose, argue any want of faith in the central truth itself. The attitude which men assume towards each other on account of such differences is no doubt deplorable in the extreme, but the differences themselves are essential to "a living and progressive faith." If Christ be truly "the life of the world," it is impossible that any one mind should apprehend singly the full significance of this truth. Each thinker, each seeker after the light, brings back to the general store that portion of the whole which has discovered itself to him;—nay, the labours of the most utter sceptics, if only conscientiously undertaken, generally open out a way to unthought-of verifications of the central truth. In these latter days, we know of no writings which have conduced more to deeper and wider apprehension of the Christian revelation, than the lives of Christ by Strauss and Renan, and the critical works of the "Tübingen" school. A creed lives by opposition; the persecutions of former days are for us replaced by intellectual difficulties, and the recurring need to bring the Old into harmony with the New, without the

mutilation of either ; but the "sense of the Unseen" which upheld the martyrs of the Roman world, is as much needed now as it was then.

The Scepticism, moreover, which strikes people as so formidable and unprecedented, does so mainly because the scepticism of former days has become dwarfed by distance. If we had lived in the time when Christianity was little else than a conviction possessed by a few Galilean fishermen and a tent maker of Tarsus, we should hardly have credited it with the power to vanquish the resistance of the Roman empire. The scepticism of to-day is, in no degree so sweeping and so thorough as that which had settled down upon Europe when Luther's voice awoke the slumbering spiritualities of the world. Any one who will take the trouble to read a few pages of Ranke's *History of the Popes*, will learn that in the very precincts of the Vatican, atheism and materialism were the fashionable forms of conviction ; and we have only to turn to such books as Boccaccio's *Decameron* to see how the very sense of a moral law seems to have perished from the minds of multitudes of human beings. The Roman Church curses Luther to this day, but it is as plain as the sun in heaven that but for his appeal to the nations of Europe, startling her out of her sleep, such men as Loyola, Xavier, and others of the first Jesuit missionaries would never have been roused to vindicate her claim to the allegiance of mankind. A creed, as we have said, lives and can live only in an atmosphere of opposition ; men lose the sense of its vital connection with the moral fibres of their being, if no effort is made to detach it from them ; and hence the surpassing folly of religious men who wish to shackle the freedom of discussion. They are compassing the destruction of the very faith they desire to save. What, again, is the infidelity of the present day compared with that of the eighteenth century when Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, and Helvetius were assailing Christianity,—when Bishop Butler, the most cautious and conscientious of thinkers, could express himself as follows,—“It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry ; but that it is now at length discovered to be fictitious. And, accordingly, they treat it, as if, in the present age, this were an agreed point among all people of discernment ; and nothing remained but to set it up as a principal subject of mirth and ridicule, as it were by way of reprisals for its having so long interrupted the pleasures of the world.” That this ridiculous belief should ever resume its empire over the spirits of cultivated men would have seemed to the advanced thinkers of that day a notion too preposterous for aught but laughter. Their proofs of its hollowness and imposture seemed to them so

completely satisfactory and convincing. And yet, any one who reads at this time the polemics of Voltaire and Gibbon is simply amazed. Their shafts are like random arrows fired by a blind man at a venture. It is a pure work of supererogation to take even precautions against them; much less to be at the trouble of refuting them. The fact that Christianity has outlived so much—that the most violent storms which have traversed the Western world have passed away, leaving it only rooted more firmly in the common conscience of the nations, is at least a plain proof that up to this time it has been the strongest, deepest, and most enduring product of human thought—that it must meet and satisfy some of the most urgent aspirations of human nature. Nor is there anything that we can see, in the present day, to make us expect aught else in the future. On the contrary, it seems to us that there is among the leaders of Christian thought a confidence in the strength of their creed, an anxious desire to have recourse to no other weapons than those which appeal to the reason that has never before been characteristic, to the same extent, of theological controversy. It would take us beyond the limits of the present paper to point out, what appear to the writer, the weak points of the Religious Scepticism of the day. It is Protean in its character; its shapes are innumerable; and at each new embodiment, there is the same flourish of trumpets to announce that this time at least, the Christian hallucination is to be finally dissipated. Only the hallucination, somehow, continues to live on, and it is the scepticism which waxes thin, and finally gives up the ghost.*

Take Positivism for example. Only a few years ago, the present writer can remember that men spoke of it with bated

* Mr. Browning has an exquisite bit of satire on this peculiarity of Modern Scepticism in his last poem.

———Alack, Philosophy!

Despite the chop and change, diminished or increased,
 Patched up and plaster'd o'er, Religion stands at least
 I' the temple type. But thou? Here gape I, all agog
 These thirty years, to learn how tadpole turns to frog;
 And thrice at least have gazed with mild astonishment.
 As skyward up and up, some fire new fabric sent
 Its challenge to mankind that, clustered underneath—
 They hear the word, and strait believe, cry, in the teeth
 O' the Past, clap hands and hail triumphant Truth's outbreak—
 Tadpole-frog theory propounded past mistake!
 In vain! A something ails the edifice, it bends,
 It hows, it buries. . . . Haste! cry "Heads below" to friends—
 But have no fear they find, when smother shall subside
 Some substitution perk with unabated pride
 I' the predecessor's place!

breath as a new and terrible portent which had appeared upon the earth and which threatened to swallow up all dissentients, with as much ease and indifference as Hotspur killed his Scots before eating breakfast. Mr. Mill announced (Mr. Mill in those days, was regarded far more generally than now as the one infallible man on earth) that "M. Comte had" superabundantly shown the possibility of giving to the service of humanity, even without the aid of belief in a providence, both the psychological power and the social efficacy of a religion; making it take hold of human life and colour all thought, feeling and action, in a manner of which the greatest ascendancy ever exercised by our religion may be but a type and foretaste." (*Utilitarianism*, p. 48). The timorous quaked as they read this tremendous assertion, and few stopped to inquire how a new religion could be "superabundantly shown" to be capable of anything until it had actually done something. The Positivists in the meanwhile took the field, exactly as the Philistine giant of Gath against the children of Israel. "Come to us" they cried to the miserable believers in a God, "and we will give your flesh to the fowls of the air, and to the beasts of the field." And it must be confessed that the people of Israel, "when they saw them, fled from them and were sore afraid." Yet what is the position of Positivism now? It is a subject of almost universal derision. It stands like a detected scarecrow in the midst of a field, and the most timorous bird of all the flock would light upon it without fear or hesitation. The principle of *evolution* has just at present assumed the vacant seat from which Positivism has been thrust forth. According to this principle we are expected to believe that all the glories of art, poetry, and architecture, all imagination, love, fancy, wit, humour, irony, are only developed forms of rudimentary sensation in a marine ascidian who existed in an inconceivably remote past. No sooner was this astounding proposition put before the world than all the worshippers of "the unknown and unknowable God" raised their voices in an uproar of approval. Here at last was "the tadpole-frog theory propounded past mistake," and unbelievers of all kinds were summoned to give in their adhesion without delay. Now one of the main causes which has caused people to believe in the efficacy of "Modern Scepticism" is the extraordinary celerity with which religion strikes its flag and surrenders at discretion. In the present instance, hardly an attempt seems to have been made to see if there was any tenable ground for this hypothesis of evolution; but every one proceeded at once to build up theories of "Reconciliation," to show that men might still remain Christians, the marine ascidian notwithstanding. This, of course, was no difficult matter to show; the difficulty indeed, seems to us to trace a single point of contact,

Our origin from a marine ascidian cannot alter one single fact in the Histories of Greece or Rome, and quite as little in that of the Jews. The story of the Exodus, the writings of the Prophets, the life of Christ, the endurance of the Christian martyrs, would remain precisely the same, and precisely as significant as before. That "sense of the Unseen" which was the keystone of their existence was a present fact—an actual living experience,—and could no more be destroyed by their reputed origin from a marine ascidian, than any other fact or experience of consciousness. "Though animal sensation" to quote the words of Mr. Martineau, "with its connected instinct, should be the raw material of our whole mental history, it is not on that account entitled to measure all that comes after it, and stand as the boundary line between fact and dream, between *terra firma* and "airy nothing." That which is first in Time has no necessary priority of rank in the scale of truth and reality; and the later found may well be the greater existence and the more assured. If it is a development of faculty, and not of incapacity, which the theory provides, the process must advance us into new light, and not withdraw us from clearer light behind: and we have reason to confide in the freshest gleams and inmost visions of to-day, and to discard whatever quenches and confuses them in the vague and turbid beginnings of the past." All this is indubitable enough; that moral and spiritual world where religion has her home, constitutes a number of facts of consciousness which cannot be affected whether Dr. Darwin's theory is ultimately pronounced true or false. What we complain of is the inordinate deference which the world pays to any hypothesis which proceeds from a man who happens to be called "scientific." The despotism which these gentlemen are seeking to establish—their undisguised dislike for those who do not receive their dicta with unquestioning submission—is nothing less than Sacerdotalism seeking to establish its old and hateful tyranny under the cloak of a specious name. They are the modern priests of Isis, who wish to re-erect the ancient temples to an unknown God, with themselves as his self-constituted priests and interpreters. "Are you a scientific man?" If you confess that you are not, then "what right have you to an opinion on the subject at all?" is the retort. "Your business is simply to believe." And not a few people weakly succumb to this retort, and live in a wretched and confused condition, blown about by every wind of doctrine, but with a general impression that man is an impostor who has tried to pass himself off as a responsible being when he is really nothing but a cunningly contrived piece of clock-work. All this is utterly uncalled for. A scientific man knows certain facts which unscientific men do not, but that is all. He is not preserved thereby

from errors in logic, from generalising on an imperfect induction, from drawing hasty conclusions. Here, indeed, an outsider, with no particular bias in any particular direction, might, not improbably, judge more correctly than the scientific man himself. It does not require a man of science to see that a book like Darwin's "Descent of Man," which is purely hypothetical throughout, which absolutely overflows with unverified stories from books of travels, and the most arbitrary assumptions to fill up gaps in the chain of reasoning cannot *prove* anything—cannot be accepted even as a scientific work at all. The very most that can be said for Dr. Darwin's theory is, that it is not utterly inconceivable that an elephant *compelled* to run infinitely might, in the course of uncounted ages, come to have the attributes of a stag. But it is utterly absurd to suppose that the existence of religious faith is placed in peril by the fact of such an hypothesis being cast into the world. We must have proofs more relative than this. And even, if we assume its truth, in what way can it be said to conflict with the idea of God or the revelation of Christ? We can see none. Religion and science, it seems to us, can never come into conflict, except upon one point. Religion must insist upon *the supremacy of mind*. Let this be granted, and, in the beautiful language of the Christian philosopher we have already quoted more than once, "it matters not by what path of method the Divine Thought advances; or how long it is upon the road. Whether it flashes into realization, like lightning out of night; or fabricates, like a Demiurge, through a producing season, and then beholds the perfect work; or is for ever thinking into life the thoughts of beauty and the love of good; whether it calls its materials out of nothing, or finds them ready and disposes of them from without; or throws them around as its own manifestation, and from within shapes its own purposes into blossom—makes no difference that can be fatal to human piety. Time counts for nothing with the Eternal; and though it should appear that the system of the world and the ranks of being arose, not by start of crystallization, but like the grass or the forest, by silent and seasonal gradations, as true a worship may be paid to the Indwelling God, who makes matter itself transparent with spiritual meanings, and breathes before us in the pulses of nature, and appeals to us in the sorrows of men, as to the pre-existing Deity who, from an infinite loneliness suddenly became the Maker of all."*

R.D.O.

* Martineau, "The Place of Mind in Nature and Intuition in Man."

P.S.—Since this essay was written, a profound and beautiful essay, entitled “Is God unknowable?” and written by Father Dalgairus, has appeared in the *Contemporary Review*, October 1872. It discusses in detail many important points, which in the above essay, want of space has permitted us only to touch upon. We commend it to the attention of the thoughtful reader.

ART VI.—INDEPENDENT SECTION. OUR COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE INDIAN POPULATIONS.

(II.)—ITS DYNAMICS.

It is by a policy of exploitation that the Carthaginians manage to stave off the dangers inseparable from the government of an oligarchy, for with this view, they are always drafting off a portion of their population to foreign dependencies. But this is merely the casual advantage of their exceptional position. For if any mishap befall, and the proletariat rise against the upper classes, then the organisation of society possesses no longer any security for order.

The Politics, ii, 11 (15) ARISTOTLE.

If the people of Britain are to be preserved from the evils of a democratic revolution, then it behoves their upper classes to set about regenerating not only their policy at home [as already described] but also their policy abroad.

In the first place it behoves them to extinguish what there remains of a disposition towards oppressing other members of the Western system, and notably to put an end to the wrongful anomaly of keeping a town of Andalusia in subjection to England, But above all it is in respect to populations not within the political system of the West that the supremacy of Britain has to be transformed; for certain exceptional benefits which it confers do not obviate in any wise a feeling of general oppressiveness even in cases the most favourable. Apart from the fact that it is high time for peoples as for individuals to have done with exalting mere material interests, these very interests when purified, by being reduced to their proper subordination, have no need whatever for a political domination which is necessarily corrupting and tends to perpetuate warfare in the name of industry.

The Politics, iv, 5 (493.) COMTE.

FROM the statical or the order view of Indian commerce, I proceed now to the dynamical or progress view according to the historical evolution of the export and import trade of the country.

It will be not less necessary for the dynamics than it has been for the statics of the subject to, first of all, convey a clear idea of the influence of the English Government upon Indian commerce, and so to resolve the most important factor in the problem which is to be solved.

The influence of the English Government of India upon Indian Commerce has been exerted in three successive forms which mark three distinct epochs in the commercial history of India. These three periods may be named as follow according to the respective forms under which the English tribute has been levied; first, the period of the political remittance by *up-country investments*; second, the period of the political remittance by *bills of hypothecation*; third, the period of political remittance by *London drawings* upon India. I proceed to describe these.

The first of the three *régimes*, that of the UP-COUNTRY INVESTMENTS, could not be described more clearly than it is in the following extracts from that Parliamentary Blue Book written by Burke in 1783, which is known as his Ninth Report,* and which formed the basis of the legislative and administrative changes introduced in consequence of its exposures. I italicise a few of the passages which continue instructive even at the present day.

CONNECTION OF GREAT BRITAIN WITH INDIA.

IN order to open more fully the tendency of the policy which has hitherto prevailed, and that the House may be enabled in any regulations which may be made, to follow the tracks of the abuse, and to apply an appropriate remedy to a particular distemper, your committee think it expedient to consider, in some detail, the manner in which India is connected with this kingdom: which is the second head of their plan.

The two great links, by which this connection is maintained, are, first, the East India Company's commerce; and next, the government set over the natives by that Company, and by the Crown. The first of these principles of connection, namely, *the East India Company's trade*, is to be first considered, not only as it operates by itself, but *as having a powerful influence over the general policy and the particular measures of the Company's government*. Your committee apprehend that the present state, nature, and tendency of this trade, are not generally understood.

Until the acquisition of great territorial revenues by the East India Company, the trade with India was carried on upon the common principles of commerce, namely, by sending out such commodities as found a demand in the India market, and, where that demand was not adequate to the reciprocal call of the European market for Indian goods, by a large annual exportation of treasure, chiefly in silver. In some years that export has been as high as six hundred and eighty thousand pounds sterling. The other European Companies trading to India traded thither on the same footing, their export of bullion was probably larger in proportion to the total of their commerce; *as their commerce itself bore a much larger proportion to the British than it does at this time, or has done for many years past*. But stating it to be equal to the British, the whole of the silver sent annually from Europe into Hindostan could not fall very short of twelve or thirteen hundred thousand pounds a year. This influx of money, poured into India by an emulation of all the commercial nations of Europe, encouraged industry, and promoted cultivation in a high degree, notwithstanding the frequent wars with

* On another occasion I shall expose the foolishness of an assertion to which some pretentious optimists

are now trying to give currency, that Burke had little acquaintance with Indian affairs.

which that country was harassed, and the vices which existed in its internal government. On the other hand, the export of so much silver was sometimes a subject of grudging and uneasiness in Europe; and a commerce, carried on through such a medium, to many appeared a speculation of doubtful advantage. But the practical demands of commerce bore down those speculative objections.

The East India commodities were so essential for animating all other branches of trade, and for completing the commercial circle, that all nations contended for it with the greatest avidity. The English Company flourished under this exportation for a very long series of years. The nation was considerably benefited both in trade and in revenue; and the dividends of the proprietors were often high, and always sufficient to keep up the credit of the Company's stock in heart and vigour.

But at, or very soon after, the acquisition of the territorial revenues to the English Company, the period of which may be reckoned as completed about the year 1765, a very great revolution took place in commerce as well as in dominion; and it was a revolution which affected the trade of Hindostan with all other European nations, as well as with that in whose favour and by whose power it was accomplished. From that time bullion was no longer regularly exported by the English East India Company to Bengal, or any part of Hindostan; and it was soon exported in much smaller quantities by any other nation. A new way of supplying the market of Europe, by means of the British power and influence, was invented; a species of trade (if such it may be called), by which it is absolutely impossible that India should not be radically and irretrievably ruined, although our possessions there were to be ordered and governed upon principles diametrically opposite to those which now prevail in the system and practice of the British Company's administration.

A certain portion of the revenues of Bengal has been, for many years, set apart to be employed in the purchase of goods for exportation to England, and this is called the INVESTMENT. The greatness of this Investment has been the standard by which the merit of the Company's principal servants has been too generally estimated; and this main cause of the impoverishment of India has been generally taken as a measure of its wealth and prosperity. Numerous fleets of large ships, loaded with the most valuable commodities of the East, annually arriving in England, in a constant and increasing succession, imposed upon the public eye, and naturally gave rise to an opinion of the happy condition and growing opulence of a country, whose surplus productions occupied so vast a space in the commercial world. This export from India seemed to imply also a reciprocal supply, by which the trading capital employed in those productions was continually strengthened and enlarged. But the payment of a tribute, and not a beneficial commerce to that country, wore this specious and delusive appearance.

The practice of an investment from the revenue began in the year 1776, before arrangements were made for securing and appropriating an assured fund for that purpose in the treasury, and for diffusing it from thence upon the manufactures of the country in a just proportion, and in the proper season. There was, indeed, for a short time, a surplus of cash in the treasury. It was in some shape to be sent home to its owners. To send it out in silver was subject to two manifest inconveniences.—First, the country would be exhausted of its circulating medium.

* * * *

A country so exhausted of its coin, and harassed by three revolutions rapidly succeeding each other, was rather an object that stood in need of every kind of refreshment and recruit, than one which could subsist under new evacuations. The next, and equally obvious, inconvenience was to the Company itself. To send silver into Europe would be to send it from the best to the worst market. When arrived, the most profitable use which could be made of it, would be to send it back to Bengal for the purchase of Indian merchandise. It was necessary, therefore, to turn the Company's territorial revenue into its commerce. The first investment was about five hundred thousand pounds, and care was taken afterwards to enlarge it. In the years 1767 and 1768, it arose to seven hundred thousand.

This new system of trade, carried on through the medium of power and public revenue, very soon produced its natural effects. The loudest complaints arose among the natives, and among all the foreigners who traded to Bengal. *It must unquestionably have thrown the whole mercantile system of the country into the greatest confusion.* With regard to the natives, no expedient was proposed for their relief. The case was serious with respect to European powers. The presidency plainly represented to the directors, that some agreement should be made with foreign nations for providing their investment to a certain amount, or that the deficiencies then subsisting must terminate in an open rupture with France. The directors, pressed by the large payments in England, were not free to abandon their system; and all possible means of diverting the manufactures into the Company's investment were still anxiously sought and pursued, until the difficulties of the foreign companies were at length removed by the natural flow of the fortunes of the Company's servants into Europe in the manner which will be stated hereafter.*

But, with all these endeavours of the presidency, the investment sunk in 1769, and they were even obliged to pay for a part of the goods to private merchants in the Company's bonds, bearing interest. It was

* [Burke describes in the sequel the means by which these foreign Companies procured silver where-with to obtain country produce and manufactures. They under- took to bank for the English Company's own officials and to convey their private remittances from India to Europe.]

plain that this course of business could not hold. The manufacturers of Bengal, far from being generally in a condition to give credit, have always required advances to be made to them; so have the merchants very generally; at least, since the prevalence of the English power in India. It was necessary, therefore, and so the presidency of Calcutta represented the matter, to provide beforehand a year's advance. This required great efforts; and they were made. Notwithstanding the famine in 1770, which wasted Bengal in a manner dreadful beyond all example, the investment, by a variety of successive expedients, many of them of the most dangerous nature and tendency, was forcibly kept up; and even in that forced and unnatural state it gathered strength almost every year. The debts contracted in the infancy of the system were gradually reduced; and the advances to contractors and manufacturers were regularly made; so that the goods from Bengal purchased from the territorial revenues, from the sale of European goods, and from the produce of the monopolies, for the four years which ended with 1780 (when the investment from the surplus revenues finally closed), were never less than a million sterling, and commonly nearer twelve hundred thousand pounds. This million is the lowest value of the goods sent to Europe, for which no satisfaction is made.* * * * *

The goods, which are exported from Europe to India, consist chiefly of military and naval stores, of clothing for troops, and of other objects for the consumption of the Europeans residing there; and excepting some lead, copper utensils, and sheet copper, woollen cloth, and other commodities of little comparative value, no sort of merchandise is sent from England, that is in demand for the wants or desires of the native inhabitants.

When an account is taken of the intercourse (for it is not commerce) which is carried on between Bengal and England, the pernicious effects of the system of investment from revenue will appear in the strongest point of view. *In that view, the whole exported produce of the country (so far as the Company is concerned) is not exchanged in the course of barter: but is taken away without any return or payment whatsoever.* In a commercial light, therefore, England becomes annually bankrupt to Bengal to the amount nearly of its own dealing; or rather, the country (Bengal) has suffered what is tantamount to an annual plunder of its manufactures and its produce, to the value of twelve hundred thousand pounds.

In time of peace, three foreign companies appear at first sight to bring their contribution of trade to the supply of this continual drain. These are the companies of France, Holland, and Denmark. But when the object is considered more nearly, instead of relief, these companies, who from

* The sale, to the amount of about Britain, ought to be deducted from one hundred thousand pounds annually, of the export from Great this million.

their want of authority in the country might seem to trade upon a principle merely commercial, will be found to add their full proportion to the calamity brought upon Bengal by the destructive system of the ruling power; because their trade.

Consequences of the greater part of the capital of all these companies, and perhaps the whole capital of some of them, is furnished exactly as the British is, out of the revenues of the country. The civil and military servants of the English East India Company being restricted in drawing bills upon Europe, and none of them ever making or proposing an establishment in India, a very great part of their fortunes, well or ill-gotten, is in all probability thrown as fast as acquired into the cash of these Companies.

In all other countries the revenue, following the natural course and order of things, arises out of their commerce. Here, by a mischievous inversion of that order, the whole foreign maritime trade, whether English, French, Dutch, or Danish, arises from the revenues; and these are carried out of the country, without producing anything to compensate so heavy a loss.

But that the greatness of all these drains, and their effects, may be rendered more visible, your committee have turned their consideration to the employment of those parts of the Bengal revenue which are not employed in the Company's own investments for China and for Europe. What is taken over and above the investment (when an investment can be made) from the gross revenue, either for the charge of collection, or for civil and military establishments, is in time of peace two millions at the least. From the portion of that sum which goes to the support of civil government, the natives are almost wholly excluded, as they are from the principal collections of revenue. *With very few exceptions, they are only employed as servants and agents to Europeans, or in the inferior departments of collection, when it is absolutely impossible to proceed a step without their assistance.*

The other resource of the Mahomedans, and of the Gentoos* of certain of the higher castes, was in the army. In this army, nine-tenths of which consist of natives, no native, of whatever description, holds any rank higher than that of a *Subadar Commandant*, that is, of an officer below the rank of an English subaltern, who is appointed to each company of the native soldiery.

Your committee here would be understood to state the ordinary establishment, for the war may have made some alteration: all the honourable, all the lucrative, situations of the army, all supplies and contracts, of whatever species, that belong to it, are solely in the hands of the English; so that whatever is beyond the mere

* Gentoos, i.e., Gentiles = Hindoos, dans. Both names are Portuguese. as Moors, i.e., Mauritians = Mahome.

subsistence of a common soldier, and some officers of a lower rank together with the immediate expenses of the English officers at their table, is sooner or later, in one shape or another, sent out of the country.

Such was the state of Bengal even in time of profound peace, and before the whole weight of the public charge fell upon that unhappy country for the support of other parts of India, which had been desolated in such a manner as to contribute little or nothing to their own protection.

Your committee have given this short comparative account of effects of the maritime traffic of Bengal when in its former state of natural state, and as it has stood since the pre-trade. valence of the system of investment from the revenues. *But before the formation of that system, Bengal did by no means depend for its resources on its maritime commerce.* The inland trade, from whence it derived a very great supply of silver and gold, and many kinds of merchantable goods, was very considerable.—The higher provinces of the Mogul Empire were then populous and opulent, and intercourse to an immense amount was carried on between them and Bengal. A great trade also passed through these provinces from all the countries on the frontier of Persia and the frontier provinces of Tartary, as well as from Surat and Baroach on the western side of India. These parts opened to Bengal a communication with the Persian Gulf, and with the Red Sea, and through them with the whole Turkish and the maritime parts of the Persian Empire, besides the commercial intercourse which it maintained with those and many other countries through its own seaports.

III.—EFFECTS OF THE REVENUE INVESTMENT OF THE COMPANY.

Hitherto, your committee has considered this system of revenue investment substituted in the place of a commercial link between India and Europe, so far as it affects India only: they are now to consider it as it affects the Company (itself). So long as that corporation continued to receive a vast quantity of merchantable goods without any disbursement for the purchase, so long it possessed wherewithal to continue a dividend to pay debts and to contribute to the (British) State. But it must have been always evident to considerate persons, that this vast extraction of wealth from a country lessening in its resources in proportion to the increase of its burthens, was not calculated for a very long duration. For a while the Company's servants kept up this investment, not by improving commerce, manufactures or agriculture, but by forcibly raising the land-rents on the principles and in the manner hereafter to be described. When these extortions disappointed or threatened to disappoint expectation, in order to purvey for the avarice which raged in England, they sought for expedients in breaches of all the agreements, by which they were bound by any payment to the country powers, and in exciting disturbances, among all the neighbouring princes. Stimulating their ambition, and fomenting their mutual animosities, they sold them to their common servitude and ruin.

Such, then, was the first of the three *régimes* of Anglo-Indian commerce, that when the up-country Investment was the medium for the remittance of the Indian tribute exacted by England. I make no apology for the extent of my extracts, so instructive are they on the present depression of Indian trade.

I pass now from the first to the second or intermediate *régime*, that of the remittance of the tribute by **BILLS OF HYPOTHECATION** or documentary bills drawn at the Presidency towns.

In the year 1813, under a new Charter, the East India Company's monopoly was continued absolutely as regarded China, but within India was reduced to certain important staples such as salt and opium. After 1813 the Company ceased to have the exclusive monopoly of forestalling and regrating in other staples than those important reservations to which I have alluded. The exclusive monopoly as regards China was withdrawn twenty years later, in 1833. After the year 1813, the Company effected its remittances partly by Indian goods transmitted to China, there to be exchanged for Chinese commodities destined for London,—partly also by bills on Indian goods exported direct from India to England. So far as concerned the Indo-Chinese trade with England, the first *régime* of the up-country Investment continued in full force as before. So far as concerned the Indian trade direct with England, the change constituting the Hypothecation *régime* was as follows. The Hon'ble Company no longer made from their own Indian Exchequer direct payment of silver, the proceeds of taxation, to bazaar brokers in exchange for such Indian staples of export as would command sale and yield funds in London. The old truck system was indeed substantially continued, but it was veiled over by a specious disguise which gave complete satisfaction to the English *bourgeoisie* whose political influence was now in the ascendant. For, instead of dealing direct with the bazaar brokers, the Hon'ble Company called in or promoted a set of intermediaries and so became separated by a set of middlemen from the native wholesale merchants of the town warehouses and from the native retail chandlers of the village booths. These new intermediaries were foreign merchants, chiefly English, settled for the most part at the three Presidency towns. To them the Hon'ble Company (for the Government with an accurate instinct still retained its old commercial designation), performed the indispensable function of exchange banking. The function was indispensable not less to the merchants than to the Government, so deficient was the country in indigenous capital. Accordingly the Government selected certain leading staples of export, some seven in number, which were always sure of commanding a sale in London. Upon consignments of these staples destined for London, the Government would make advances generally to about three-fifths of the

value of the goods as estimated by an officer of the Company's Civil Service, and in exchange for the advances the Government would receive Bills of Hypothecation upon the goods until disposed of in London. In other words an English merchant at Calcutta in shipping and consigning, say a cargo of rice, to his correspondent in London, would draw on that correspondent to the value of the cargo, and by that means he would place himself at once in funds for a farther consignment, say of indigo, by going to the Treasury, making over or *hypothecating* his shipping document, and so obtaining an immediate advance of two-thirds of the value. He would endorse his bill of lading to the Court of Directors, and make it over to the Hon'ble Company here as their collateral security. When the cargo was disposed of in London, the Court of Directors recovered the amount of their Calcutta advance. Whatever price the cargo fetched over and above the two-thirds advance, remained, of course, with the London consignee on behalf of the Calcutta consignor. But if through any sudden fall in the market the consignment failed to realise the amount of the Calcutta advance, then the Court of Directors, acting on the preferential claim of the hypothecation, would enforce the shortcoming, if necessary by law, from the London consignee, or failing him from the Calcutta consignor. It was by the proceeds of such bills that the Court of Directors placed themselves in funds at London for their English disbursements. If the Directors were pressed for money they could send round to Lombard-street and discount their bills of hypothecation before maturity.

When this process of hypothecation proved at any time extremely disadvantageous to the Company, they could fall back on the silver proceeds of their taxation, and remit treasure itself from their Indian treasuries to Leadenhall-street. But this expedient was not resorted to except in extremities, for it was certain to be attended with evil consequences, such as have already been described in the preceding extracts from Burke, and will again be reverted to in a later portion of this treatise.

This system of procuring the hypothecation of Indian export staples in order to effect the political remittance from India to London, led and could not but lead to much recrimination both in India and in London. Such recrimination ending, as it often did in litigation at Westminster Hall between a powerful Company of public tax-gatherers and a keen-witted firm of private merchants, could not but disclose the commercial servitude that really underlay what purported to be free trade in India. In Calcutta a merchant A, would complain that another, a rival merchant B, had obtained undue favour from the Treasury Officer in the valuation of his goods at the Company's warehouse as to quality or even as to quantity. The merchants, A, B, and C,

would complain that they, being real capitalists and people of substance, had been prejudiced as to their rights of business, in so far as D, E, and F, mere speculators and creatures of straw, according to A, &c., had been allowed to obtain advances or discounts out of "public money." Then D, E, and F, would rejoin with no less bitter invective against the Company's Factor for damage to their monetary credit through the disclosure of their private affairs by the carelessness of the Factor or by the complicity of his office *employés*. The settling of such huckster bickerings as these formed no unimportant portion of that which official annalists writing what they are pleased to call histories, choose to dignify by the name of the Company's administration of Indian affairs. We have recently seen some indications of the squabbling that would arise under the system of political remittance by hypothecation of Indian goods effected in India, when some finance-mongering officials operating through the Bank of Bengal actually thought to revert from the third or the present to the second or transitional method of placing the quarterly Indian tribute in London.

Again, A, B, and C, would form themselves into a ring with the view of crushing out the competitors D, E, and F; and either set leagued *ad hoc* would bid up the price for the particular Indian staple of which a monopoly was desired in view, perhaps, of an expected advance in the London market. On the other hand, the Company's demand for hypothecation bills was uncertain; for it would vary according to their varying needs in Leadenhall-street, according as their funds were in plethora from recent loan or in depletion after heavy expenditure. Accordingly, if at such a period trade in India was brisk, the Company's financiers in India would be chidden by private merchants for not being more liberal with advances for the development of *business*. If trade was dull and re-drafts were coming back from English consignees in England to English consignors in India, then the Company's Factors would be blamed by these very same people for having previously inflated *business*.

But notwithstanding all the exertions of the Company their London charges were always so heavy as to exceed the proceeds either of the earlier investments or of the later hypothecations, and as time went on the chronic deficit became greater and greater. The most obvious resource would have been to order home the silver bodily out of the Indian Treasuries, but the Court of Directors had learnt by painful experience how fatally and speedily the disastrous consequences of such a proceeding would return upon its authors. As it was, they frequently brought trade to such a pass that the hypothecated commodities could not be sold in London without loss to all concerned,—a loss which necessarily

impaired the means of providing the succeeding year's remittance from India. Pressing as their liabilities were with their regularly recurring deficits, the Directors often felt it absolutely necessary to allow India a temporary relief from the drain which was exhausting her resources. The children of Mammon were not unwise in their generation. The mercantile Court of Directors in the City and the ministerial Board of Control in Westminster, however they might differ as to the method of exploiting India, were in unison on the question of degree in so far as not to press Indian tax-payers to utter despair. Both were alive to the danger lest a political rising in India might be followed by a social explosion at home in which the moneyed and the official classes would be alike hurled out of wealth and power in England. Any arrangement for putting off the evil day was to be preferred to the risk of a crisis like that. Hence arose the system of *open loans*.

From time to time, according to the degree of need, plausible stories, of which there was always an ample supply ready to hand out in Indian stations, were put forth with official sanction, and loan after loan was floated with more or less success.

The very pretexts for these loans underwent a series of modifications according as decade after decade of failure came to throw discredit on the old pretences and disclose the necessity of new devices. In the earliest years each deficit was invariably declared to have been incurred unavoidably in order to defeat the evil machinations of this Nawab or that Rajah. Gradually, however, it dawned on people at home that, as Burke said, "there was not "a potentate throughout India that had come in contact with "the Company whom the Company had not sold; not a treaty "that the Company had ever made which they had not broken; "not a Prince that had put his trust in the Company, who had "not been utterly ruined."

Accordingly the later pretext that was brought into fashion as an excuse for recurring deficits was the programme of lapses and annexations which were ever being evolved with great fertility among a set of officials out in India eager then, as now, for pay and promotion. But this programme also, after bringing forth much sin and misery, had at last to be abandoned in the face of the fiercer and fiercer wrath with which a Burke, a Cobden or a Bright demanded condign punishments for the official criminals. A new set of tactics became necessary. As the pretence of extending the beneficial influence of British justice fell into discredit, and no longer served to justify the everlasting loans, a new pretext was evolved in its place,—that of extending the beneficial influence of British capital. The projects of annexing new territory made way for the projects of fertilising old; and as to advantageousness

and security, the later projects surpassed the former in the extent to which they could be made to gratify certain official circles in India with place and promotion, and certain moneyed classes in England with brokerage and patronage, all under the guise of enriching everybody concerned throughout India and England. Those official romances about the reproductiveness of public works in India which form the present pretext for Indian loans, are the last act of a long drama which is even now being played out before our eyes. These pretexts are destined to meet with an earlier and deeper discredit than their predecessors, and there will then remain no new device for further deferring the political crisis in India and the social crisis at home.

We have considered the two first epochs of the commercial servitude of India ; first, that of the UP-COUNTRY INVESTMENT ; second, that of THE BILLS OF HYPOTHECATION. We come now to the third and last epoch, the present one, that of THE LONDON DRAWINGS UPON INDIAN TREASURIES. It is not necessary for me to describe here this third method of providing the political remittance ; for under the Statics of the subject, I have fully set forth the nature and the action of the Secretary of State's drawings. It will be enough if I complete the dynamical view of the three systems by noticing briefly the nature of the transition from the one *régime* to the other. The third system gradually arose out of the second, as the second had arisen out of the first, by a natural process or evolution, namely, the progress of the Company's indebtedness. It was the necessity of supplementing bills of hypothecation at home by borrowing in London upon assignment of taxes in India that gave rise to the present systematic London drawings upon Indian treasuries. It was about the time of the Punjab war, towards the close of the career of annexations, that this third method became fully developed. The difference of practice introduced has been substantially little. For the old system of remittance by hypothecation was this, that the English Government of India formerly bought out here orders for gold in London by selling in India silver, the proceeds of Indian taxation. The present system of London drawings is this, that now the English Government of India buys gold in London by selling in London orders for silver in India, also the proceeds of Indian taxation.

Thus, then, under the first Investment *régime*, the scene of the drawings was the marts up the country in India ; under the second hypothecation *régime* the scene changed to the three seaport capitals of the presidencies ; and under the last *régime* the scene shifted to London. Gradually as the earlier *régime* passed into the later, a new set of middlemen was interposed between the London Government as tribute-taker and the Indian peasant as tribute-yielder. Step by step the Government receded from its

people, like a spendthrift mortgagor receding from his estate. The connection of England with India has thus become more and more exacting as regards India, and more and more dangerous as regards England. In India the Government—which being interpreted means that English plutocracy for whom the country has been exploited,—has through these changes lost in familiarity and sympathy with the native population; but in England the Government has, through the same process, gained by a closer hold upon the English people, by a firmer grafting upon English vitals, and by a more incisive claim upon the assets of the British exchequer, and upon the services of the British army.

In this way a polity which in its origin had been flagrantly immoral, has been making the fatal and inexorable decline from bad to worse. With each successive postponement of solution, this Indian problem of ours (like a debt increasing at usury by each extension of usance) has been growing in intensity and in complexity. In India the people have become more and more impoverished, society more and more disintegrated, and reorganisation more and more hopeless. In England there are looming ahead at no great distance the most serious troubles, social and political, in connection with industries which have been reared or stimulated on the artificial and precarious basis of this commercial servitude of India. Already at the eleventh hour some Lancashire capitalists are beginning to betray uneasiness over all this reckless forcing of a textile industry in England, in the blind assurance that the Indies are to serve as a vent for unlimited exports of piece-goods.

In the very status accorded to the successive Indian loans in England, there has been a certain gradation corresponding to the deeper impress of the Indian connection on the English polity. At first the British Legislature conceded to the Company's loans nothing more than a permissive, and somewhat grudging, sanction; in later times it invested them with considerable statutory privilege; and finally, in our own time, it has arrayed them with the very amplest political prerogative, until at last Indian Government securities and guaranteed Indian Railway stock have attained their present portentous proportions. When one compares the old East India Company with the modern guaranteed companies in regard to the several amounts of their capital and the respective nature of their business, one realises that the old policy of the up-country Investment continues on a grander scale, and that the puny old monopolist corporation has been displaced only to make room for other and vaster Companies of Merchant Adventurers trading to the East Indies.

A loftier Argo cleaves the main,
Fraught with a later prize.

The only difference is that what was on the part of the English

Legislature only tacit permission to the old corporations (so loose was the bond of union with the English people), has now, by the indemnification pledged with rash solemnity to investing trustees, become stringent and overt prerogative, in the more close, more avowed, and therefore more dangerous union which now obtains.

The past, its mask of union on
 Had ceased to live and thrive ;
 The past, its mask of union gone,
 Say, Is it more alive ?

It is not a hundred years since Indian deficit and the effort of the English Government to relieve the East India Company's embarrassment, and to secure its own endorsement of the Company's liabilities by means of American tea duties, brought upon the English people a shameful dismemberment from their fellow-countrymen abroad, and a long reaction of patrician and plutocratic tyranny at home. Are the later and the greater Companies of Merchant Adventurers now trading to the East Indies destined to plunge the English people into another and a blacker shame, into another and direr disaster by a repetition of similar crimes on behalf of Indian guaranteed dividends? It will need a more prudent, a more vigorous, and more honest statesmanship than that of Mr. Disraeli bragging about England as henceforth an Asiatic more than a European power, or that of Mr. Gladstone vapouring about England happy across the silver streak, if the present generation of their countrymen are to be saved from the extremities of suffering during the impending catastrophe. If it were only Indian rentiers in England, and English officials in India that were endangered by all this chronic disorder of Indian finance and all this recurring cookery of Indian budgets, one would have less reason for anxiety, for there are many of these who can well look after themselves. But there are other people concerned in these failures and poltrooneries, people more helpless than the most desolate widow or orphan throughout England, whose scanty livelihood is being put to jeopardy by investment in an Indian security. In India under all this exploitation are millions of natives doomed to pine on in misery, are other hundreds of thousands destined to hunger to death :—

Till when their latest hope is fled, we taste of their despair,
 And learn to feel in some wild hour how much the wretched dare !

At home there will certainly be no Englishman so remote, no English industry so obscure as not to share in the suffering which will follow upon the approaching collapse of our Indian credit. In France at this moment, is it the Napoleonic bureaucrats and stockjobbers alone,—is it the Napoleonic bureaucrats and stockjobbers at all that are bearing the smart for the imperial misconduct ?

Exports and Imports increased, — how. 153

Having under the Statics examined the intrinsic nature, and under the Dynamics the successive modes of the action of the English Government as being the predominant force guiding Indian commerce, I proceed now to inquire into the progress of the export and the import trade of India. It will readily be understood that tabular statements available for a comparative view cannot be procured farther back than 1833, the year when the monopoly of the China trade was abolished.

Quinquennial period.	From the year— to the year—	Export trade (both merchandise and treasure) ; annual average thereof during the period.	Import trade (both merchandise and trea- sure) ; annual average thereof during the pe- riod.
1	1834-35 to 1838-39	£ 11,322,599	£ 7,315,953
2	1839-40 to 1843-44	14,252,561	10,453,593
3	1844-45 to 1848-49	16,995,548	12,209,375
4	1849-50 to 1853-54	20,017,125	15,851,339
5	1854-55 to 1858-59	5,847,471	26,852,542
6	1859-60 to 1863-64	43,169,286	41,062,967
7	1864-65 to 1868-69	57,664,702	49,314,735

Over these figured triumphs our optimist politicians find it impossible to exhaust their phraseology of commendation. The influences to which chiefly they ascribe all these "blessings" of India are these two : (1), the beneficence of English Government, and (2), the ascendancy of English Free Trade.

In such arguments as these, our Indian politicians, like their favourite oracles of reference the Political Economists, invariably assume that the natives engaged in all these exports and imports are myriads of independent, individual units buying and selling with practically absolute spontaneity and with no noteworthy pressure, social or political, acting upon the entirety of the atoms as a mass. It never occurs to these people to inquire as regards India why the natives with all this freedom of action should have devoted so much of their commerce to the English rather than to any other shores. It never occurs to these people to inquire, as regards England, why in each successive generation she should be leaning more and more upon Indian trade ; why in each suc-

cessive generation Indian business should be forming a more and more important* portion of England's external commerce.

What is the actual condition of affairs which these figured advances of exportation and importation do really denote?

(1st).—As regards the figures of imports, much of the chronological increase represents not additional earnings acquired by India, but additional burdens imposed upon India, such as State debt and Railway mortgage.

(2nd).—As regards the figures of exports, much of the chronological increase represents not surplus earnings sent into the world's market at the discretion of the producers, but compulsory exports destined to discharge the increasing annual interest upon State debt and upon unremunerative Railway mortgage, which are held in England by English creditors upon India.

I have already under the Statics described the action of these two influences. The figured progress, so far as it is due to these is a measure not of the prosperity but of the adversity of India,—a measure not of blessings but of curses upon the native populations.

(3rd).—As regards the figures both of exports and imports, much of the chronological increase represents not an advance in

* A business more and more important rather in character than in amount, inasmuch as the Indian commerce supplies staples for farther trade from England with other countries than India. On the other hand, the Indian business is not the most profitable, still less the most stable, of England's foreign trades. In this respect the commerce with France and with other neighbouring countries is far more lucrative than that of the Indies. Mr. Göschel, in his excellent treatise on the foreign exchange, has well contrasted the East Indian trade and its bills of sometimes as much singly as £10,000 with those numerous petty drafts which make up a continental parcel of remittances to a similar amount, *e.g.*, bills against cattle, against eggs, against butter; drafts of travelling Englishmen on their London bankers; bills against German toys; bills against French nicknacks, wine, fruit and vegetables. If the continental transactions are far more petty and retail-like than the wholesale cargo orders of the Indian trade, the for-

mer for that same reason admit of being the more rigidly economised and therefore they are in reality the more lucrative. And farther they are the more safe. Even in the recent tremendous destruction of French capital, there has been no such spectacle as that which our exchange banks have presented of stupefaction over the failure of the Gledstones which has occurred in a period of profound peace, and according to Mr. Grant Duff of general prosperity in India. A similar observation applies to our China trade. In a despatch of the London Board of Trade signed by Sir Louis Mallet at page 354 of the Tientsin Treaty Blue book (1871) there will be found some suggestive misgivings as to whether our China trade has not on the whole been rather a loss than a profit to the English people. If Sir Louis Mallet will apply the same sagacity to the India trade, both England and India will have reason to be congratulated on his recent appointment as commercial member of the Indian Council in London.

natives' prosperity, but merely re-states the fact that English dominion and English taxation have been by annexations extended in range over a wider area than before. In thus far the increase of the export and import trade represents likewise a heavier calamity inflicted, not a higher benefit conferred upon the native populations concerned.

It was the custom for those Native Governments, formerly resident within India, which have unfortunately been displaced by us, to collect much of their revenues in kind, and pay much of that revenue to *employés*, almost all of whom consumed this produce of the country within the country itself. Under such a state of things Indian kingdoms enjoyed ample substance of prosperity and rivalled the world in their temples and mosques, and yet they presented but little show of exports and imports. The English Government of aliens and absentees, domiciled elsewhere than in India, collects all its revenues in coin, pays all and more than that revenue in coin to *employés*, many of whom consume—cannot help consuming—much of the country's produce outside of the country. Accordingly, this empire of ours now surpasses the world in its barracks, its jails, and captonments, and it exhibits amplest semblance of prosperity in so far as it presents a prodigious show of exports and imports.

(4th).—As regards the figures, both of exports and imports, much of the chronological increase represents English taxation increased in rate, both on the older and on the later acquisitions of territory, and in so far it likewise denotes not the advancing prosperity, but the advancing adversity of the native populations.

No one who will take the trouble of scrutinising the schedules of Indian exportation and importation in their historical sequence, will fail to perceive how each annexation of territory tells upon the trade and navigation returns of the immediately succeeding years. In fact, this is a process which forms a stock subject of official boasting in our Administration Reports.

No one who will take the trouble of collating the successive rates of exchange at Calcutta and London, can fail to observe how powerfully each new borrowing of the Government affects Indian exports and imports ; first, during the ecstasy of squandering the capital, and afterwards in the relapse of wringing out the interest charge.

Therefore they either err unfortunately, or else they deceive wantonly, who would persuade people that the tabular statements of increased exports and imports denote a proportionate increase of Indian wealth. Is the reasoning disputed ? There is no lack of decisive tests for a verification. For during these many years the Minister of Indian Finance has been doing little else than projecting so-called reproductive works with the one hand, and devising new taxes with the other. He has been confounded

by the everlasting succession of deficit upon deficit, and as for taxation, *Le peuple est taillable et corvéable à merci et miséricorde*. Accordingly, there has been little scruple or mercy in adding to the customs taxation, as we shall presently see when we come to review the several staples of foreign merchandise. Well then, has there been any chronological increase in the yield of customs duties corresponding to the advance in the figures of exports and imports? No. Indeed, it is a practice with the Indian financier at almost every budget to boast of the increasing exports and imports of British India as compared with those of other countries, and yet to almost simultaneously confute this, his own boast, by urging as an apology for his regularly-recurring measure of novel taxation the stationariness of the revenue from customs, that easy fiscal resource of countries less embarrassed than India. The customs realised in Great Britain from some 30 millions of people upon imported comforts and luxuries amount to 20,000,000*l.* a year. The customs realised in India under all our financial pressure from 200 millions of people amount to only 2½ millions sterling. Yet the customs taxation of India includes such fiscal barbarities as inland transit duties up-country, and heavy export duties on grain at the seaports. Moreover, the bulk of Indian customs is realised not upon articles of luxury, but upon clothing and other barest necessities of mere existence.

The increasing frequency and severity of famine form another deplorable and unanswerable demonstration that our fellow-subjects are not being enriched with all these aggrandised exports and imports. The Indian populations are being compelled to carry on their labour from harvest to harvest on a narrower and narrower margin of food-reserve,—a margin which is now-a-days proving more and more insufficient to tide over the ordinary contingencies of season. Optimists attempt to dispose of this difficulty by asserting that there were famines under native governments also. Now the fact is that scarcities did occur from time to time under native governments at rare intervals, and we are quick to remark how intimately *these* were connected with misrule, how amply *these* justified revolution. Famines recurring with the terrible frequency and the tremendous intensity which we have beheld in the present generation, and above all in the present decade, have been absolutely unknown except under the English administration. And even if our administration had not come short of that of our native predecessors, yet we must be held to have failed, for we, who have violently assumed the government, must submit to be judged according to a standard all the higher and more exacting.

With these general observations I proceed now to examine the exports and imports themselves, in detail, and to show, staple by staple,

that it is the Anglo-Indian Exchequer which is the most potent factor in determining the inflations and the contractions of Indian maritime commerce, that it is English taxation which is the chief force that moves these exports and imports in flood tide and ebb tide, in springs and neaps.

In both the Statics and the Dynamics I reverse the usual order of treatment, for I prefer to consider the exports before the imports, on the principle that people must have goods for sale in order that they may succeed in purchasing goods in exchange. But there is one important difference of treatment which I shall have occasion to introduce in the Dynamics, and which I shall, therefore, briefly notice. In the Statics I have treated of silver or money as a staple of merchandise given or received in exchange, just like any other of those commodities of trade from which *thus far and for the particular time of the actual operation* money does not substantially differ. But in the Dynamics I have to take note of these two facts which do not come into view in the Statics, namely, (1st) that money, in addition to its general function common alike to money and to other staples of merchandise, performs the farther function peculiar to itself of serving as the common measure of value, and (2nd), that, dynamically, this latter is a varying and not a constant function. This distinction is familiar to those who have watched the phenomena of paper currency when it is constituted an inconvertible and compulsory tender, how *for the time* it quickens trade with a spasmodic flush, and how *in the long run* when over-issued and depreciated it ends in that general congestion,—the factitious inflation of prices. These two widely different sets of monetary phenomena are in general hopelessly confused by our official optimists in connection with the Government's profuse expenditure on public works and with the competitive strain occasioned thereby to private enterprise.

The following is the most extensive view which I have been able to obtain of the detailed progress of the export staples. It opens at the period when the Punjab annexations had hardly yet begun to take commercial effect. I should have been glad to show the figures for an earlier decade, but I am not aware if they are procurable :—

ARTICLE.	AMOUNT, 1850-51.	AMOUNT, 1870-71.
	£	£
Coffee	100,509.	809,701
Cotton, Raw	3,474,789	19,460,899
Cotton Goods, including twist and yarn	673,549	1,410,013
Indigo	1,980,896	3,192,503
Grain ... { Rice	752,294	4,146,638
Wheat, &c.		
Hides and Skins	324,444	2,020,857
Jute	196,936	2,577,552
Opium	5,459,135	10,783,863
Saltpetre	369,543	440,554
Oil Seeds	339,514	3,522,305
Silk, Raw	619,319	1,351,316
Sugar	1,823,965	295,076
Tea ... ..	.....	1,120,516
Wool	68,285	670,647
Other articles	2,350,514	3,206,990
TOTAL	18,164,169	55,331,825

What, then, are the industrial processes actually exhibited in this twenty years' review?

The first prominent feature in the table is the progress of certain staples, COFFEE, INDIGO, and TEA—which have been grown almost solely on account of English capitalists who have consumed all but the whole profits elsewhere than in India. For these staples have been grown on that plantation system which possesses many of the evils and few of the alleviations of slavery or serfdom.

We have all learnt to condemn the absenteeism of the capitalist employers, and the exploitation of the coolie gangs in the case of the corn plantations or latifundia of the Romans in Sicily and Italy, the sugar plantations of the English in the Western, and coffee plantations of the Dutch in the Eastern Indies. So also in the English East Indies, it is impossible to look back without misgiving on all that has been done legislatively and fiscally in the avowed interests of the English capitalists engaged in raising indigo and tea. (There has been much less of this in the case of coffee.) These influential people have succeeded in obtaining prerogative after prerogative, such as are conceded to no *entrepreneurs* in any other industry, or in any other part of the world. They have wheedled or coerced a Government far too subservient into contract law after contract law aimed expressly against natives. Thus at one time they have obtained a special statute

providing the planter with a summary prosecution by criminal law in lieu of the regular process at civil law for pecuniary compensation, at another time with a stringent riot act as a procedure for awarding rights on landed property by way of remedy for a disorganised and demoralised administration of police. Plantations which whether in ancient Sicily or modern Java, whether in Demerara or Assam or Cachat, are worked for absentee capitalists, and on which in the last resort the motive power over the coolie gangs is substantially the lash of the magistrate or the treadmill of the jailor, possess neither the moral merits nor the commercial stability of a system of free industry. Let the capitalists who are now blindly investing in tea shares consider whether that is a sound and unprecarious system of business which may be ruined in a single season by a Lieutenant-Governor's views in interpreting one of his own Council's coolie statutes. So much for the special efforts of legislation by which indigo and tea, (and to some, but far less* extent coffee) have attained the proportions registered in the above schedule.

Consider next how many special fiscal privileges have been conceded to the English capitalists in these petted staples, such as, at one time, a special prerogative with the district treasuries as to rates of inland exchange, at another time a reduction of or an exemption from the general land tax. How different, according to the difference of occasion, are the complexions in which RENT, the mystic fetish of our Indian optimists, becomes manifest to its adorers. Is the staple a native one like rice or barley? Then the land assessment is rent and no burden, and the ryot who fails to see this is a sorry simpleton who has no conception of the sublime verities of Political Economy. But is the staple an English one like coffee or tea? Then the land assessment becomes at once a tax and a grievous burden, and the Finance Minister is required to withdraw it forthwith in the very same thrice holy name of Political Economy.

Finally then, the increase of exports under the plantation staples records not the growing welfare but, in a great measure, the growing hardship of a population among whom weavers and other artificers are driven from urban to rural industries, and are reduced more and more from the status of independent artisans to that of dependent rearers of raw produce.

We shall find this process farther exemplified under that second feature of the twenty years' review which is next to engage our attention, namely, the ampler figures finally registered under the exports of raw COTTON.

* In the case of coffee it is the general pressure of the political and fiscal system of administration that has favoured the plantations of Southern India. I shall describe this when I come to treat of SUGAR.

It will be seen that in 1850-51 the Indian population disposed of raw cotton to the amount of nearly $3\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, whereas in 1870-71 they sold to the amount of nearly $19\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, being an increase, so far as these figures go, of nearly 600 per cent. There are few things which call forth so much exultation from our optimists as an enumeration of this sort. Such a progress in cotton is held to form a triumphant demonstration of the advancing prosperity of India under, and because of, British rule. A less superficial examination of the facts, including the actual condition of the people, as well as the mere figures of exportation, will be found to forbid any such complacent conclusion.

True, the Indian populations—or rather, as we shall presently notice, a certain limited portion of them—have received during 1870-71 for their exports of raw cotton say 19,460,899*l.*,—if for convenience we accept the official valuation entered by the custom house officials. They have also realised farther to the amount of, say, in the same way 1,410,013*l.* upon cotton more or less made up, namely, “Cotton goods, including twist and yarn.” Thus in all they have realised, say, 20,270,600*l.* on their cotton sales.

But on turning to the corresponding figures of imports for the same year 1870-71, we find that the populations of India have had to give 19,044,869*l.* for the materials of such scanty clothing as they have been able to buy. And of this 19,044,869*l.*, only a part, 15,644,867*l.*, had been made up into piece-goods, the rest, to the amount of 3,400,002*l.*, was mere twist and yarn which still needed the labour and the remuneration of the weaver before it could come into use. Thus the cotton business of India for the year 1870-71, according to the trade and navigation returns, consisted of outgoings to the amount of 20,270,600*l.* and of incomings to the amount of 19,044,869*l.* If there has been any profit on this cotton business of India, it is certainly not the Indian populations taken as a whole that have reaped it. I question too if the bankers and mill-owners of Manchester found much to congratulate themselves upon in respect to interest on their capital so far as concerned the Indian portion of their business for 1870-71.

But it will be answered that it was only a limited portion of the Indian populations that raised and disposed of raw cotton, and that they, at least, had netted a handsome profit on these export transactions. To this I answer, that the question in hand is that of the welfare or the hardship of the entire population of India. What is there for our Cotton Commissioners or even for that most sanguine official, Mr. Rivett-Carnac, what is there for them to boast of in this result that the ryots who have been raising raw cotton should have secured a profit

only by having been made a pretext for impoverishing their own fellow-countrymen?

But is it true that the ryots of the cotton districts are making any increase of profit over what they effected twenty years ago such as will justify the exultations of the optimists of Bombay and Manchester? Every one who is acquainted with the actual condition of the peasantry of the Central Provinces, heavily indebted and cruelly impoverished, utterly ground down by taxation, and in a recent year wasted by famine, will demur to the slipshod congratulations of Sir Thomas Bazley or Sir Richard Temple. With regard to the particular contrast under examination, it is unfortunate that the quantities as well as the estimated values of the raw cotton of exportation and of the made-up cotton of importation are not shown in the Blue Book for the opening year 1850-51. However, the price currents of the London *Economist's* annual review of business, as compiled in continuation of Tooke and Newmarch's work on Prices, will doubtless be received without objection. Well, these tables give $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb as average price fetched by Indian raw cotton (Surats) during the six calendar years 1845-1850, and $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb as the average price fetched by Indian raw cotton (fair Dhollera) during the calendar year 1871. Has the cotton soil of India become so much more fertile during the last twenty years that the ryots, notwithstanding all the greater costliness of food,* have been able to afford to raise raw cotton to the value of 19,460,899*l.* in 1870-71 at $6\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb. against 3,474,789*l.* worth in 1850-51 at $5\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb.? Certainly not. We know as a fact that in the cotton territories, as everywhere else, the Indian soil has been growing worse and not better in yield of crop during these years. But it will be said that it is the railways and other changes that have made all the difference. To this I answer, that in so far as this is correct (and to some extent it is correct), I can pronounce that system nothing less than a profligate and hypocritical violation of the professed principles of free trade under which the populations of the rest of India are fined some 2,000,000*l.* a year as a subsidy to the English shareholders of Indian railways,—a subsidy guaranteed, in a great measure, with the express and avowed object of stimulating the business of growing cotton in India and making it up in Manchester.

What sort of free trade is this under which cotton is stimulated with all the influence of a special official machinery maintained out of Indian taxes; is then taxed indulgently in the condition

* The general rise of prices will come under systematic review in the sequel.

of raw but severely in the condition of made-up material,—all in deference to the parliamentary interests of Lancashire? What sort of free trade is this which allows, nay in every way encourages, the deportation of raw cotton to Manchester free of export duty, but requires the made-up cotton to pay an export duty of 3 per cent? What sort of free trade is this which fines the weaver of Hindoostan and the boatman of the Ganges in a tremendous and unparalleled dietary poll-tax upon salt in order forsooth, that they may be deprived of their livelihoods by State guaranteed railways, and by other official bribes to a foreign manufacture?

The Political Economy which justifies such things is in so far not a science but a quackery.

INDIGO.—The next subject in alphabetical order has already been considered with the other staples of the plantation system in conjunction with coffee and tea. It deserves, however, to be noticed with satisfaction that apparently this important staple has not suffered in so far as it has been exempted more or less completely from the dangerous fostering of the plantation system of English enterprise; for example, this branch of business seems to have been making considerable progress in Madras.† But there are two great and imminent dangers that menace Indian indigo. This, like every other staple in the country, has been suffering under adverse political influences of many kinds, especially general taxation, which, universally and annually increasing, is rendering the conditions of production, and still more the conditions of manufacture, more and more unfavourable. (I reserve this subject of the handicapping of Indian industries until I come to **SILK** and **SUGAR**.) The first of these dangers menacing Indian indigo is that of being supplanted, like saltpetre, by some chemical device in Europe. The second danger is that of being displaced by indigo grown in Central America, where industrial progress has freer scope than in this, although the earliest, home of indigo, sugar, and cotton.

The next subject for consideration on the list of exported staples is **GRAIN**. The progress in the deportation of food-grain from 752,294*l.* worth in 1850-51 to 4,468,994*l.* worth in 1870-71 is a feature of Indian business which our official optimists will find difficult to reconcile with the chronic risk and the frequent occurrence of famine that have distinguished the second of the two decades now under review. Part of this advance certainly represents the influence

† I speak with reserve, for I have of Madras indigo (like that of Tir- been cautioned by a Madras friend hood) is not grown in the few zeminto institute farther enquiry and dari districts which admit of the make sure as to whether a good deal domiciliary screw of rent.

of one of the causes which I pointed out in my general explanation of the increased exports and imports, namely, the annexation of territory. Of the 4,146,638*l.* worth of rice deported from British India, 1,876,153*l.* came from British Burmah. Some portion of this vast amount came from a vast province which was annexed during these twenty years—by what means annexed is sufficiently known to those who have read Mr. Cobden's exposition of "*How Wars are got up in India.*" So far as the inhabitants of Pegu are concerned, a considerable portion of this additional rice business merely registers the result of those infamous proceedings of Lord Dalhousie, and denotes nothing whatever of greater prosperity to the Burmese. As regards the inhabitants of the possessions older than Pegu or the Punjab, a certain portion of this additional exportation of food grain simply records somewhat of the burdens which have been imposed upon them, because of the cost incurred in conquering and the loss incurred in administering these and other similarly deplorable annexations. To those who deny the progressive impoverishment of the Indian populations, I leave the task of reconciling an annual deportation of nearly 4½ millions sterling worth of food grain, (nearly 700,000 tons of rice alone) with the recent death of some two millions of tax-payers by hunger, and with the now annual anxiety about reserves unduly depleted.

The next subject on the list is the increase of the exports of **HIDES and SKINS**, from £324,444 in 1850-51 to £2,020,857 in 1870-71. The transactions in the last cited year happened to be exceptionally large for a reason which I shall presently explain. Yet apart from this, the rise otherwise has been very remarkable. The average of the annual exportation for the first five of the twenty years was about £389,000, that of the last five £1,322,000. Part (1) of this figured increase represents a greater carefulness in turning to use the skins of horned cattle, and in so far is a subject of satisfaction. Again (2) part of the increase is simply one phase of the general advance in prices, a subject which will come under systematic review in the fourth article to be devoted to bullion and currency in India. The quantities of the hides are not given in the Blue Book except for quite recent years, otherwise the enumeration would have shown readily what part of the increase of values might be set down to this influence. For the present I shall merely repeat that the much vaunted increase of prices throughout this country does not denote any proportionate nor any approach to a proportionate degree of prosperity among the inhabitants. Another (3) part of the increased exportation is to be attributed to the area of exploitation having been extended by annexations; and this, especially when taken in connection with the decay in the country leather trade, is a subject for regret and

not for congratulation. It remains, however, to notice (4) a fourth influence of a painful character which has been prominent in the last five of the years under review, and which culminated about 1869, I mean, the excessive and increasing mortality among Indian cattle.

Disease among cattle has also been destructive in the United-Kingdom, but considering the very different functions of horned stock there and here, considering that to oxen in India falls the labour of the plough and the cart which, in Europe, since the decay of the feudal and the rise of the industrial system has been performed by the superior animal, it is impossible to institute any adequate comparison between the ravages of the diseases (whatever may be their nature) among the cattle of the two countries. Physiologically also there is some difference between epidemic among English stock high-bred and almost overfed, and endemic among Indian stock notoriously degenerating in breed and decaying in strength from insufficiency of nourishment.

Even in the midst of the optimist verbiage which passes current in official circles (in extraordinary contradiction to the actual experiences of personal intercourse with the people), one comes across occasional glimpses that betray the incomparable severity of a loss of plough cattle in India. Thus, in one year we hear from a sub-division in Bengal that a good fourth of the cultivation area had lain unsown, in an earlier year we hear from a sub-division in Madras of the ryots having had to till their fields with the mattock. Again, the increasing scarcity of milk owing to the progressive paucity of milch kine is notoriously one of the growing hardships of life which come into special prominence in those places where (from whatever circumstances, and these remain still to be rationally co-ordinated), the populations of tracts once rich and flourishing are now being decimated by chronic disease.

The progressive defertilising of the fields, the progressive deterioration of the cattle, the progressive impoverishment of the people, such are the ghastly results of all this commercial exploitation of the Indian provinces. The very beasts of burden and the lifeless soil itself are made to feel the rigour of English taxation. One manufacture after another is being crushed out of the country, and now even the rural industry of the Hindu peasant begins to manifest the blight which has already withered the urban handicrafts of the Muhammadan towns. We are told that it is because Indian agriculture is rude and unskilled that it is thus falling off. Indian husbandry is but rude and unskilled, but what husbandry in the world could bear up against the overcropping which is compelled by the necessity of maintaining a distant and a costly rule of aliens whose domicile is

on the other side of the planet? What stock is there in the world that would not degenerate and fall into chronic murrain if they were yoked to constantly increasing tasks on over-cropped fields, and had to hunger over the diminished food of narrowed pasturages, under a system of exploiting whose conditions of a distant market, a long voyage, and a different climate, preclude any relief by substituting root-crop or grass-crop?

Our optimists have another easy off-hand way of attributing the progressive diminution of the yield of crop to the wastefulness of the Indian peasant, who according to them not only institutes no proper rotation of crops, but also burns for to-day's meal the refuse which ought to go for next year's crop. They wonder why the ryot does not allow his soil to rest and his bullock to fatten. (In like manner a high-born dame of the *ancien régime* marvelled why on earth the poor folks did not take to pastry if there was such a scarcity of bread.) Accordingly an Indian Department of Agriculture has been added by a doctrinaire government to the other burdens of the country in heedless ignorance of the fact, that the acquirements of the ryots, being necessarily as yet but empirical, cannot possibly be systematised. But the high-paid officials of the Department, not one of whom could earn a livelihood at sugarcane or rice or cotton, are going to acquaint themselves, in some way hitherto unimagined, what is the proper rotation of crops that shall bye and bye be officially preached, or perhaps be legislatively enacted like a canal rate, for the agricultural starvelings of India. Meanwhile (pending the discovery of all these things by means of model farms, competitive prizes, agricultural exhibitions, and other pills against the earthquake), the departmental gentlemen are to be chronicling the growing enrichment of the country. But dearth and even famine seem to enter with portentous pertinacity into such periodical narratives of the people's improvement in India. "*Tout va bien ici, le pain manque*" ("all well, bread scarce"), the famous despatch of a similar departmental doctrinaire, might be adopted as the motto of our new and useless department of optimism.

The facts of a degenerating stock of cattle, and a diminishing yield of land are too palpable to be set aside even by the most credulous believers in Indian prosperity. The very Bengal Board of Revenue itself does not appear to have yet extended its illustrious theory of Demand and Supply to the relation between Indian oxen and Indian grass. But that metaphysics, which formed the easy resource of the Board in regard to famine and mortality among men, has been resorted to for similar explanations of degeneracy and disease among cattle, and it has yielded from time to time the requisite entities of the usual kind. Thus at one time the cause to which all these and other agricultural troubles are attributed, is

a certain innate stupidity which is said to disable the ryot from understanding his own business. At another time it is a certain inherent greediness which is said to disqualify the ryot from doing justice to his much-cherished ancestral holding. It would be interesting if these off-hand reasoners would be good enough to complete their explanations by describing what, according to them, had been the ancient condition of stock and tillage from which all this process of degeneration, thus due to Hindu depravity, had originally begun, and what generally is the ultimate condition towards which it is all tending. Do they hold that the native, under a native government, scourged his fields with an over-cropping as ruinous as the present, even in those ages when there were as yet no distant mortgagees for whom crops had to be deported to the other side of the globe, no carriers by sea and land who had to be hired to convey the very tribute itself?

The metaphysics of our medical enquirers into the conditions of industrial production is worthy of the metaphysics of our fiscal enquirers into the conditions of industrial distribution. For it is the custom with these latter gentlemen, when confounded by famine and harassed for an explanation of the excessive deportation of food grain, and of the undue depletion of food-reserves, to invoke some impersonal idol which they have conjured up for themselves, say, the mystery of Supply and Demand. Or if it becomes necessary to justify a tremendous land-tax, they divine with that mystic abracadabra, guiltless of raising prices, which Mr. Ricardo revealed to political economists as RENT.

If the social portion of all this State optimism is very vague, the biological portion of it is not less misty. Thus the Indian medical officer is required to furnish, what shall pass as a scientific explanation of the increasing degeneracy of cattle, or the increasing scarcity of fish supply, or the increasing scarcity of wood. Accordingly he sets to work and feigns some entity or other; (usually some express depravity attributed to the native mind in India, or some express depravity attributed to the outer world in India), some indwelling essence or other peculiar to Hindustan as invisible, incognisable, incorporeal and intangible as that Vacuum which used to be abhorred, and that Vital Principle which used to be cherished by the metaphysicians' deity, Nature. Neglecting the fundamental canon of all really sound biological enquiry, namely, that of considering the organism and the medium together, some of these people think to deal scientifically with the organism apart from its medium, others to deal scientifically with the medium apart from the organism. Accordingly, if the subject which is adopted happens to be native mankind considered apart from the natives' surroundings, the result is some

turpitude or other, say the native's greediness, to wit, in raising too much crop of corn, or the native's apathy, to wit, in raising too little crop of fodder. On the other hand, if the subject chosen for this unscientific method of investigation happens to be the medium apart from the organism, then there results some entity or other like that which we meet in so many official reports on cholera and cattle disease,—malaria air-borne, malaria water-borne, telluric poison and so forth, mere names which pretend to yield information but which in reality are mere re-statements of the fact of ignorance, mere conversions of a symbol X and a symbol Y both of which are quantities that are equally unknown and that remain equally unresolved.

Such are those genii, the airy imaginations of pedantic pretenders to science, for the combating of which the recent new and costly departments of Agriculture, of Fisheries and of Forests have been added to the previous burden on the country. When natives see the scandalous waste of harshly wrung taxes upon poltrooneries so useless as these, how should they not conclude that the economical professions of Government are mere hypocritical grimaces?

Let us take the Forest Department, as an instance, and subject it to the common sense tests of the most ordinary Hindu clod-hopper. For if only we would drop our conventional arrogance towards native ways of thinking, we should extricate ourselves from certain sophistries and phantoms which at present hopelessly obscure the official mind about this particular phase of the increasing hardship of life. We choose to reproach the ryots with recklessness in using dried manure for fuel.* Yet the Government's own department of Public Works habitually practises that very same recklessness in their own brick kilns. It is notorious too that one of the most serious mischiefs of that same very expensive department of Public Works, is its waste of the timber and fuel resources of the country. The very railways themselves, which have been so harrying in other ways have caused the utmost havoc of timber for building and repairing wood-work and for furnishing and re-furnishing sleepers, so that at last we have come to the preposterous anomaly of importing sleepers from the pine forests of Norway and from the very ends of the earth into this miserably poor and exhausted country. The constant waste of wood for engine fuel, entailing a constant rise in the cost of cooking material, is another evil of these railways of ours,—railways which the Hindus are as little able to afford as the English farmer can afford to plough with Derby racers or the Indian ryot with elephants.

* Mr. Elliott, author of "The Experiences of a Coffee Planter," has shown that the evil attributed to this has been very much over estimated by Englishmen in India.

Yet this increasing costliness of fuel is a specimen of that rise of prices which supplies the official optimist with endless themes for the praise of the English Government. Nor this alone: for it supplies the Government with a pretext for wasting £300,000 a year on a useless department of what is preposterously called Forest Conservancy. The "gross superstition" to which the natives are "slaves,"—a superstition impelling them to cherish trees and to plant groves,—does more to alleviate, even our prodigious waste of Indian woods than all that Mr. Grant Duff's pet department will ever effect, though it be imbued with the sublimest *geist* of woodcraft that apprentice rangers can acquire at the expense of the Indian tax-payer in the forest bureaucracies of Hanover and Nancy.

Dr. Cleghorn, Dr. Day, Dr. Macleod, and Mr. Hume will doubtless smile at the Hindu, when the idolatrous heathen attributes the deterioration of stock and soil to the displeasure of the gods at that perjury which has become more and more overwhelming, according as we have meddled more and more minutely in the administration of the country. The Muhammadan again will be pronounced a fanatic when, in the blessing (*burkut*) withheld from the fields during these latter days, he beholds the judgment of God for the increasing sinfulness of man. Nay, the Muhammadan will probably be stigmatised as something worse than a fanatic if, at the risk of being punished* as a Wahabi, he rashly proceeds to quote the promise of The Book. "If ye walk in my statutes and keep my commandments and do them, then I will give you rain in due season, and the earth shall yield her increase, and the trees of the field shall yield their fruit. Ye shall eat old store and bring forth the old because of the new. Ye shall eat your bread to the full and dwell in your land safely, and ye shall know that I am the Lord when I have broken the bands of your yoke, and delivered you out of the hands of them that serve themselves of you."

For my part, if I had to make choice between the idolatry of the natives' theology and the idolatry of the *saheb's* metaphysics (his worship of the *idola theatri* as Lord Bacon would have called them), I should have no hesitation in preferring the hypothesis of the former as being of the two the more scientific, inasmuch as they the more completely and consistently explain the phenomena. There is far more of sound sense and strict logic with the native in explaining the diminished yield of crop by such

* Or still worse, at the risk of getting his sons-in-law punished as Wahabis forty years afterwards when he himself is dead and gone. Compare Bengal Blue Book on the Patna

Wahabis, pp. 32, 129 *Exhibit No. 49 C: Translation of a paper (Exhibit No. 49 C) found by Ishree Pershad, Court Inspector of Police, in the house of Maulvie Yahiy Ali.*

theories as the Kali jug (fourth or degenerate age) the fatality of scorning Brahmans, the evil eye of the English assessor of land-tax and the blight of his newfangled and impious measuring chain, than there is with the pretended savant in postulating an express viciousness or a congenital defectiveness of native character. The uniform ungraciousness of Deity in lessening fish supply as an explanation of the facts, is a hypothesis more simple, more consistent, and more comprehensive than Dr. Day's assertion of a uniform depravity of the natives in dealing with finned creatures. In regard to the constant degeneracy and the frequent mortality of cattle, the pathology of a Moses or a Maun, a Homer, or a Virgil is as superior in scientific value as it is in intrinsic beauty to the scholastic theories of our officials and our special Commissions in India.

"Τίσσαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα τοῖσι βέλεσσιν."
 "Ὡς εἶπαι" ὑχόμενος τοῦ εἴ κλυε Φοῖβος Ἀπολλων
 βῆ δὲ κατ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων χυόμενος κῆρ,
 τόξ' ὤμοισιν ἔχων, ἀμφηρεφία τε φάρετρήν
 ἔκλαγξαν ὃ ἄρ' οὔστοι ἐπ' ὤμων χυόμενοι
 αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος. ὃ δ' ἦϊς νυκτὶ εἰαίκε.
 ἔρξαι' ἔπειτ' ἀπάνευθε νεών, μετὰ δ' ἰὼν ἔηκε
 δεινὴ δὲ κλαγγὴ γένετ' ἀργυροῖο βιου.
 Οὐρήας μὲν πρῶτον ἐπύχτο καὶ κύνας ἀργούας,
 αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' αὐτοῖσι βέλος ἔχεπτुकὲς ἐφίειε
 βάλλ' αἰεὶ δὲ πυραὶ νεκρῶν καίοντο θαμνειαί.

Scævit, et in lucem Stygiis emissa tenebris,
 Pallida Tisiphone morbos agit ante metumque,
 Inque dies avidum surgens caput altius effert.
 Balatu pecorum et crebris mugitibus annes,
 Arentesque sonant ripæ collesque supini.
 Iamque catervatim dāt stragem, atque aggerat ipsis
 In stabulis turpi dilapsa cadavera tabo,
 Donec humo tegere ac foveis abscondere discunt.
 Nam neque erat coriis usus, &c.

As for the respective remedies which are suggested by the Hindu's explanation of theology and by the Englishman's explanation of metaphysics, it may or it may not be possible to propitiate the Thaktraenie of the Hindu villager, that *pallida Tisiphone* who smites man and beast with small-pox. It may or it may not be hopeless to appease that Phœbus Apollo of the rebel sepoy or the rebel Kuka, who avenges outrages upon sacrosanct Brahmans and outrages upon sacrosanct kine with the pestilence

that walketh in darkness, the arrow that fieth by day. Awful indeed, are these celestial DIVINITIES to pacify, but far more awful because far more inscrutable and inaccessible, are those Hindustani INSTINCTS, the destroyers of man and beast, whom our Famine and Fisheries and Cattle Commissioners have conjured out of the depths of their consciousness, and whom they have proposed to police.

JAMES GEDDES.

ART. VII.—PROVINCIAL COUNCILS.

IN a recent number we reviewed the present position of the Legislative Council; in doing so our object was, as we stated, to consider not in what way existing institutions required alterations, but how far these institutions fulfilled the intentions of their authors. We found that the establishment of the present Council was intended as a *stép*, though perhaps a not very decided one, towards popular government; and that although the machine might be far from perfect, it might be made to perform its duties much more satisfactorily than at present. We had no space to examine whether the introduction of improved machinery was not required; that question we reserved for the future consideration which we propose to give it in the present article.

But before we can do so, we must dispose of certain objections which are urged *in limine* against the establishment of popular institutions in India. Briefly the objections are these; the true object of our government, disguise it as we may, is the maintenance of English rule; an admission of the people of this country to anything like a real control over its government might be, and probably would be, incompatible with the existence of our rule; your imitations of free institutions must be at the best contemptible shams, and they may be very dangerous sources of discontent; it is therefore most unwise to profess a policy you have not the slightest intention of following to its logical results, and which will fill the people's heads with notions that will hereafter have to be removed with summary vigour.

We confess that these objections would appear to us absolutely fatal if we were to admit the premise that the main thing to be aimed at is the maintenance of English supremacy; we meet them by simply denying the premise *in toto*. Our denial may be startling, and to defend it, we must go back some way into the discussion of first principles. We need not go back quite so far as the Creation, but we must go back to the old theory of Divine Right, which is almost as venerable. It is quite true that scarcely any rational man at present believes in this theory, that there exists on the earth an exalted and peculiarly gifted race called kings, who are really "the Lord's anointed," who have had their power entrusted to them by God, and who are responsible solely to Him for their use and abuse of it; that the rest of mankind are their subjects, bound not only to obey them in all things, but to shed their blood in their defence; that when the Sovereign's tyrannies surpass all endurance, the subjects' only remedy is to

pray that their lord's heart may be softened. If any one really believes this, he will continue to do so in spite of any arguments that could possibly be advanced against it. He is in precisely the same condition as the man who, as we read some time ago in the English papers, persisted in betting a large sum that the earth was flat; when a series of scientific experiments had proved conclusively that it was round, the extraordinary creature, instead of being convinced, proceeded to threaten the life of the arbitrators. Just so would the believer in Divine Right, if he could not answer our arguments, demand our execution as atheists and traitors.

But if the old Divine Right of kings cannot be defended, neither can the Divine Right of certain classes or nations. Both the principles are the same, for they rest on the assumption that one person or many may demand the obedience of others as a right sanctioned by the Deity, and not as a return for services rendered. Of the two, the theory of Divine National Right is the more objectionable, as it is the more unfounded—for it is based on mere selfishness; the tyranny of a monarch is rejected, not because tyranny is bad in itself, but because the person rejecting it feels the unpleasantness of being tyrannized over. But he has no objection whatever to tyrannizing over others; just so history tells us, many Protestant sects had no sooner freed themselves from Rome, than they substituted for the Roman system a tyranny more overbearing and irrational. Though many of the cavaliers may have fought mainly in defence of their own class privileges, yet the self-sacrifices made by the party generally on behalf of the Royal martyr and his worthless descendants make us almost blind to the errors of the belief which prompted them. On the other hand in the late civil war in America, though individual leaders, like Lee, who honestly believed their allegiance to be due to their State and not to the Union, may deserve our sincere respect: the war on the whole was nothing else than an attempt to maintain at the point of the sword the Divine Right of white men to keep black men in slavery. The real badness of the Southern cause has made us almost forget that it is at least very questionable whether, under the old constitution, any Sovereign State could be kept in the union by force. But many men who repudiate domestic, will defend political slavery. They advocate it on the ground that the subject nation is fit for no higher form of life, and so far their argument may be perfectly true. But we ask these men, what would you do if it did become fit? Would you grant freedom or withhold it? Let us come to the point at once, and take the case of India. Let us suppose that it has become perfectly capable of governing itself, and that it wishes to do so. Can you persist in imposing on it English rule merely on the ground that the abolition of her supremacy would be

injurious to England? The reason of this persistence must be either a belief in the Divine Right of England to benefit herself by injuring others, or a contemptuous repudiation of all reference to right, and an open avowal that might is right. The first of these two doctrines must sooner or later develope into the latter, for unfortunately, not only is the subject nation likely to have a very strong belief in its own Divine Right to liberty, but other superior nations are equally confident that it is to them the Deity has entrusted the work of civilization.

If we are content to accept as our guiding maxim the rule "might is right," any further discussion about right must be a mere waste of time. If a Bomba can crush all political life in Naples, "he is right;" if the mob can send a Louis XVI. to the scaffold, they are right; if British troops were to be ordered to massacre periodically a certain number of natives by way of example, their chiefs might plead that they had a right to give those orders; and a precisely similar plea might have been urged by the Náná Sáhib in defence of his proceedings at Cawnpore.

Yet we would ask even those who maintain that might is right, to consider what are the true elements of strength. Is not a loyal, intelligent, and united people far stronger than the best organized army any despot ever possessed? Why does the advance of Russia cause us such anxiety? Supposing that she succeeded in absorbing not only Central Asia, but also Persia and Afghanistan, and that her boundaries were actually conterminous with those of British India? Supposing that her designs on the latter were too clear to be mistaken? Why should we fear them? But we should fear them, and justly, because we have boasted that our power was maintained solely by the sword, and we should feel that this power was about to slip from us. Were the people of India to remain strictly neutral, it is extremely improbable that we could long maintain an army capable of holding in check the force that could be poured on us from the Afghán frontier. If the people were to take an active part with the invader, our situation would be hopeless. But if we succeeded in so gaining the affections of the people, that they looked upon our cause as their own; if they felt that their whole well-being, both as a nation and as individuals, depended on the success of our arms, how different would be the situation. An invasion met by the English army supported by a national up-rising could end only in disaster. Did we but feel that the Government and the people are one, a Russian Governor of Cabul might review his troops and issue his proclamations without causing us a moment's serious uneasiness.

If we must reject as "impious and heretical" the doctrine that might is right, and if we are unable to believe that the Deity

has created whole races of men merely in order to flatter the vanity of a despot, or to swell the national pride of Englishmen, the only ground on which the government of one people by another race can be defended, is the plea that the rule of the stranger is actually advantageous to the governed. When it ceases to be so, it ceases to be justifiable. We have no hesitation in saying that England would be bound by all the principles she has ever professed, to retire from India, if it were really to the advantage of the latter that she should do so. Not even the most appalling statistics about imports and exports will convince us that the immediate abolition of English rule would be anything but the greatest calamity that could happen to the country. No doubt there is great room for improvement, but it is order alone that makes improvement possible. Who is sanguine enough to believe that if the English went, order would remain?

We may be told that these sentiments are "unpatriotic," perhaps we may be even charged with "cosmopolitanism." We reply by pointing out the difference between true and false patriotism. It is as great as the difference between true and false honour. True honour makes the true gentleman, who, if ready to resent to the death any injury or insult offered to him, is equally careful to avoid injuring or insulting others. False honour makes the swaggering bravo, whose honour is maintained solely by dishonouring others, and compelling them to pay him that servile deference which he imagines to be respect. So too the true patriot is content that his country should be free; in defence of its freedom he will die; if this is not attacked, he will devote his whole energies to improving the condition of his fellow-countrymen. For freedom in its true sense, or for the internal prosperity of his country, the false patriot cares but little; he desires his country to be "great," to hold other nations in subjection, and to vaunt its superiority over those which still retain their independence, for all this ministers to his own personal vanity. He dislikes national defeats and loss of territory simply because these prevent him from boasting and swaggering as he has been accustomed to do. If India were to become fit for independence, and were to wish for it, a truly patriotic Englishman would not wish to retain it in subjection. Its independence would not make England less free; even if it would do so, he could scarcely think that he was justified in keeping her share of freedom from India in order to increase the freedom of England. Nor could he claim to retain India on the ground that it is necessary to the commercial prosperity of England. This prosperity may be highly desirable, but to secure it we must not do a deliberate wrong to other weaker nations.

If English supremacy is to be justified on the ground that it is

beneficial to the people, it is plainly the duty of the governors to confer on the governed all the benefits they can. If the Government deliberately withholds benefits it has the power to bestow, it cannot be called a good Government, although it may be easy to conceive a worse one. Some writers seem to think it quite sufficient to prove that the tyranny and corruption of a Native State were much worse than any shortcomings that can be alleged against English administration. In a similar manner the opponents of Reform in 1832 might have declared that existing institutions could need no alteration, because they were an improvement on the arrangements of the Heptarchy. No doubt the first duty of a Government is to establish order, and remove all obvious impediments to the material prosperity of the country, just as it is the first duty of a father to supply his children with sufficient clothes and food; but the Government is as much bound as a parent to provide for the higher wants of those entrusted to its care. These higher wants are education in its true sense, that is, not a mere acquisition of book learning, but a careful development and strengthening of all those qualities of the pupil, which will hereafter enable him to play the part of a true man. If it is the clear duty of the rulers to do this, it is equally clear that their first steps must be to establish the form of government best calculated to perform this duty. When we speak of establishing a particular form of government, we are not guilty of the error, exposed by Mr. Mill in the commencement of his work on Representative Government, of supposing that forms of Government are like steam engines, that can be purchased and set up in their entirety in any place you please, but neither do we fall into the opposite mistake of maintaining that every form is the indigenous produce of some particular soil, and that any attempt to change it, or introduce a foreign stock, must prove a failure. "Political Institutions" says Mr. Mill, "are the work of men and owe their origin and whole existence to human will. Men did not wake on a summer morning, and find them sprung up. Neither do they resemble trees which when once planted are aye growing while men are sleeping. In every stage of their existence they are made what they are by human voluntary agency. Like all things, therefore, which are made by men, they may be well or ill made; judgment and skill may have been exercised in their production, or the reverse of these. Again, if a people have omitted, or from outward pressure have not had it in their power, to give themselves a constitution by the tentative process of applying a corrective to each evil as it arose, or as the sufferers gained strength to resist it, this retardation of political progress is no doubt a great disadvantage to them, but it does not prove that what has proved good for others

"would not have been good also for them, and will not be so still when they think fit to adopt it.

If, then, the form of government is to some extent a matter of choice, it follows that we ought to adopt what is ideally the best form, unless there are some practical obstacles which prevent our doing so. And what is ideally the best form? No idea is more common,—and it is one particularly in favour with Europeans in India—than that if we could only secure a good despot, his rule would be the best we could possibly have. In the third chapter of his work, Mr. Mill examines and thoroughly refutes this argument; he shews that if the despotism is real, that is, if all actual power is retained by the ruler in his own hands, there is death to all national life: the people are mere automata, acting with more or less perfection the parts assigned to them. If, on the other hand, the despot voluntarily abstains from exercising a great part of his power, and allows it to pass into the hands of the people, there must sooner or later come a day when he will have to formally surrender it, or to take it back again; in the former case he will be no longer a despot, but a constitutional monarch; in the latter he will again be the autocrat whose rule is death. The case against the benevolent despot is summed up in the following words:—"a good despotism means a government in which, so far as depends on the despot, there is no oppression by officers of State, but in which all the collective interests of the people are managed for them, all the thinking that has any relation to collective interests done for them, and in which their minds are formed by, and consenting to, this abdication of their own energies. Leaving things to government, like leaving things to providence, is synonymous with caring nothing about them, and accepting their results, when disagreeable, as visitations of nature. With the exception, therefore, of a few studious men who take an intellectual interest in speculation for its own sake, the intelligence and sentiments of the whole people are given up to their material interests, and, when these are provided for, to the amusements and ornamentation of private life. But to say this is to say, if the whole testimony of history is worth anything, that the era of national decline has arrived, that is, if the nation has ever reached any thing to decline from. If it has never risen above the condition of an oriental people, in that condition it continues to stagnate. But if, like Greece and Rome, it had realized anything higher, through the energy, patriotism, and enlargement of mind, which as national qualities are the fruits solely of freedom, it relapses in a few generations into the oriental state—and that state does not mean stupid tranquillity, with security against change for the

"worse—it often means being over-run, conquered, and reduced to domestic slavery, either by a stronger despot, or by the nearest barbarous people who retain along with their savage rudeness the energies of freedom."

There are few men, indeed, who really look upon a despotism as a good *per se*; those who profess to admire it, regard it much as the ritualistic clergy do the authority of their right reverend fathers in God, the Bishops. As long as a man is assured that such a power will only be exercised on his side, he is loud in extolling its benefits, nay, he even ascribes to it a divine origin. But it is no sooner turned against him than it becomes an odious usurpation, to be resisted to the utmost extremity. Thus in India, from which we should fly in terror were there any serious danger of its being governed by a despot of any race but our own, we are never tired of comparing our own superior intelligence with the imperfections of our neighbours, and we do not hesitate to decide that the latter were created by nature as a *corpus vile* for the experiments of the enlightened despot. In England if we ever invoke the despot, it is solely in order that he may remove certain temporary obstructions to our personal convenience, or put down certain ideas which we think erroneous.

"It is evident," says Mr. Mill, "that the only government, which can fully satisfy all the exigencies of the social state, is one in which the whole people participate; that any participation, even in the smallest public function, is useful: that the participation should be everywhere as great as the general degree of improvement of the community will allow; and nothing less can be ultimately desirable than the admission of all to a share in the sovereign power of the State. But since all cannot, in a community exceeding a single small town, participate personally in any but some very minor portions of the public business, it follows that the ideal type of a perfect government must be representative."

A representative government means a government in which the ultimate power of control rests with the people themselves through their representatives. It by no means implies that every detail of executive government should be decided by a popular vote. The executive officers should, as a matter of policy, be left as unfettered as possible, but they will remain responsible to the people for the way in which they use the powers entrusted to them, and all great questions of principle affecting the welfare of the nation at large will be decided by the nation itself, and not by a privileged individual or a privileged class.

But such a government, however ideally perfect, and however honestly we may place it before us as the true goal to be arrived

at, can only exist under certain conditions. These are, 1.—That the people should be willing to receive it. 2.—That they should be willing and able to do what is necessary for its preservation. 3.—That they should be willing and able to fulfil the duties, and discharge the functions it imposes on them. Do these necessary conditions exist in India? We cannot say that the people would be actually unwilling to receive representative institutions; or that, in some parts of the country at least, they would be incapable of discharging the duties imposed on them. But we much fear that, speaking of the country as a whole, it would receive them with the indifference which is even more fatal than actual opposition. The following remarks of Mr. Mill on this point apply only too truly to India, though it does not appear that they were expressly intended for it. “When a people have no sufficient value for and attachment to a representative constitution, they have next to no chance of retaining it. In every country the executive is the branch of the government which wields the immediate power, and is in direct contact with the public; to it, principally, the hopes and fears of individuals are directed, and by it both the benefits, and the terrors, and prestige of the government are mainly represented to the public eye. Unless, therefore, the authorities whose office it is to check the executive, are backed by an effective opinion and feeling in the country, the executive has always the means of setting them aside, or compelling them to subservience, and is sure to be well supported in doing so. Representative institutions necessarily depend for permanence on the readiness of the people to fight for them in case of their being endangered. If too little valued for this, they seldom obtain a footing at all, and, if they do, are almost sure to be overthrown, as soon as the head of the government, or any party leader who can muster a force for a *coup de main*, is willing to run some small risk for absolute power.” That this is actually the present state of the people of India is, we fear, beyond a doubt; and in proof of this we will adduce a single instance. We have been establishing municipalities and local committees, which are but representative governments in miniature. We should be the last to ridicule these; we believe that the good they are doing to the country is enormous, but we cannot assert that as yet they are truly appreciated by the people. Supposing they were abolished to-morrow, and all the powers now exercised by them transferred to Government officials? No doubt the ex-members of the committees would be angry, and their personal connections would murmur; in the Presidency Towns they might even hold public meetings. But would the people generally really care about the matter? Would any one dream

of fighting not to recover a personal privilege, but on behalf of a principle? If, then, it is impossible at present to establish representative institutions in their full extent, we must be content with a government which is more or less despotic. By a despotic government we do not mean an arbitrary one, where every order of an official is law, but only one where the ultimate control rests not with the people, but with a privileged few, *e.g.*, the Secretary of State for India in Council. But a despotism with which we only reluctantly put up, is very different from a despotism which we assert to be a perfect form of government. In the latter at least, men can only become good machines; orders are obeyed simply because they are orders, and obedience is itself a virtue. In the former, obedience is rendered because we feel that submission to the law is the first requisite for the improvement of the community, and we look on the existing system not as a thing perfect in itself, but merely as a stepping stone to something better.

Such a despotism is the Government of India; unless, indeed, the most solemn utterances of our public men are merely hypocritical sentimentalities intended to conceal their true feelings. There is not one of them in a position sufficiently eminent, to make his views of the slightest consequence, who has not repeatedly asserted that it is the honest desire of the English Government to prepare India for the next step in advance, and to confer on it the maximum of self-government it is capable of exercising. No doubt many Englishmen in private life, officials as well as non-officials, openly avow very different sentiments, but fortunately the policy of the Government is not, and is not likely to be, in their guidance. We believe that our leading statesmen are really sincere in their professions; the only question therefore is, is the country ready for another step? and what is that step to be?

Before we answer this let us look carefully round and see where we are now. The three great branches of Government are the legislative power, or the privilege of deciding on what principles the country is to be governed; the executive, or the task of putting these laws into force; and the taxing power, or the right to decide what money shall be spent on these objects, and how it shall be raised. In representative institutions the ultimate control over all these branches rests with the people, in India it practically rests with the executive Government. But in each branch we have advanced considerably from a simple despotism. In that state the personal will of the despot is law; his commands must be obeyed in whatever form they are issued; a verbal order given as he passes along the street has the same force as the most carefully prepared proclamation. In such a Government executive officers are far above the law, for there is no law but their master's word; he alone it is who can punish them for oppression. In the same way, taxes are levied whenever the ruler sees fit to order them. Great

as may be the power of the Governor-General and his officers, it is something very different from this. Neither he nor any of his Council could order the summary punishment of the lowest coolie without laying themselves open to an action for damages; we do not say that such an action would be brought, but it is a great step to have made it even theoretically possible. No doubt the actual power of the Government to pass any law it pleases is almost unlimited in theory, but in practice it is checked by many most valuable safe-guards. All proposed measures must be first formally published for general information, and this enables the press to criticise them freely; they must then be debated in the Legislative Council, a body which, as we recently pointed out, although it is not representative in the sense of being popularly elected, yet contains some members who are true representatives of the best interests of the people, and who, if they cannot command a majority of votes, can at least offer an opposition which no true despot would for a moment permit, and which is distasteful even to some who call themselves liberal statesmen. That this control is by no means imaginary is shewn by the fate of the *Weights and Measures and Panjāb Canal Acts*; both these measures passed the Council, but it was undoubtedly the opposition shewn there, and the force of public opinion as expressed in the press, that led the Secretary of State to exercise his right of veto. The state of the legislative branch of Government is therefore this: the despot has formally renounced the power of making laws at his own will and pleasure; laws have to be passed with much the same formalities as in a popular constitution; the assembly in which they are debated is under the control of the Government, but not so completely that the voice of criticism is altogether silenced; and this criticism, if vigorously supported by outside public opinion, does exercise a very real and important influence on legislation.

In the Executive Government the idea that officials are the privileged servants of a superhuman master, answerable only to him, which is the very essence of the despotic principle,—has been abandoned, and it is openly admitted that these men are the servants of the public, entrusted with certain powers to be exercised for the public benefit, but responsible to the public individually for any abuse of these powers. It is true the public cannot demand the dismissal of an offending official, but any one injured by his acts, can obtain redress in a Court of Law.* Except the right of self-defence, possessed by officials and non-officials alike, no offi-

* It is with great regret that we have noticed a growing tendency of late years to slip into special Acts, clauses exempting officers intrusted with certain duties from all civil liability. "Dodges" like this make

one almost doubt the sincerity of Government; it still maintains the great principle of official liability, but renders its application to any particular case an impossibility.

cer possesses any power beyond that distinctly conferred on him by law. By the right of self-defence we mean, of course, not the right to defend his own person, but the right to defend the State against illegal violence. Whether the circumstances of a particular case warrant a recourse to this right is purely a question of fact, precisely as it is a question of fact whether a private individual assaulting another is really acting in self-defence. But the notion that every official possesses in reserve a discretionary power above the law, and that he is free from all liability to the public unless it can be proved that he used it out of mere wantonness, is as fallacious as it is mischievous. In the case of Mr. Cowan the Government of India formally abjured it, and the reproach with which they were assailed by a large portion of the press only proves how necessary was this declaration of policy. Excellent as Indian officers as a class are, they are not above human failings. Leading statesmen may see the dangers or the evils of a despotism, but we can scarcely expect the rank and file of a bureaucracy to admit that it is desirable that their power should be curtailed. As it is, the executive officers of Government are invested by law with all the power they can exercise for the public good. It is not for the public good that they should be regarded as a privileged caste above the reach of the law. The law itself does not so regard them, and it rests with the people-themselves to enforce the law. We must own that we sympathize with them in any attempt to do so. No doubt a resolute and able man may in the majority of cases defy the law with impunity, but there are many signs of a growing spirit of opposition to these illegalities. Even in the Panjáb an attempt to bring a District Officer to account is not unknown; probably in the particular case the officer may have been right and his assailant wrong, or at least the former may have been actuated by a high and the latter by a mean motive. But the principle that a Government officer is accountable to the ordinary Courts of Law for his acts, and not merely to his official superiors, is one of such vital importance that we should hesitate to oppose it even in a case where it may have been misapplied.

Little need be said of the taxing power. Though taxes can only be imposed by a formal Act of the Legislature, and though the procedure observed in the introduction and passing of these is the same as that observed in the case of other Acts, yet it is an understood thing that the influence of Government should be used much more freely and openly on their behalf than in behalf of other measures. It is only natural that it should be so. The acquisition of the power of the purse is the last step in popular progress. The control of the finances must rest with the Government of the day, and the power to reject, or seriously alter, the financial

measures proposed by Government implies that there is an opposition ready and able to take the places of the defeated ministers.

It may be asked, if the Government has really made such advances from despotism as we have alleged, if its executive officers are completely subordinate to the law, and if the laws themselves are made with the same formalities as in a representative government, and subjected freely to the criticism of whatever public opinion exists, what necessity is there for urging any step in advance? Have we not already relaxed the bonds of despotism far more than the people have ever demanded, nay even to such an extent that they are unable to realize and appreciate the freedom we have given them? Now, we should be the very last to force on the country the latest political fashions of Europe, and no one can admit more fully than we do the need that the country has of rest. But can we rest where we are? Is it not universally deplored that there is a wide, if not a widening, gulf between the governors and the governed—that the feeling essential to the true well-being of a community that the government and the people are one is almost non-existent? And is not the reason this, that the mass of our officials who come into daily contact with the people are tenaciously jealous of their own position, looking on the policy of government which diminishes their personal power as absolutely suicidal, whilst the higher officials who direct this policy think themselves so greatly superior to the people in intelligence that for them to ask for the opinions of the latter would be as absurd as for a schoolmaster to consult his pupils as to the truth of the most elementary rules of arithmetic?

That this gulf exists is unfortunately undeniable, and as long as it exists change even for the better in the *theory* of government—can be of little use. We have already seen that it is not that the principle of our government is radically wrong; the failing is that the people are altogether indifferent to our principles. Much of this may be due to faults on our own part, such as those we have already pointed out, but much more is owing to previous mis-government. We complain that the people will not feel that their interests and those of the government are identical; we forget that from the earliest days of history down to the present time they have, in fact, been diametrically opposed. We blame them for want of spirit in not resisting over-bearing officials, but we forget that for hundreds of years they have been taught to regard an official as a part of the ruler, to resist whom was death. We call on them to be martyrs in the cause of liberty, and we forget that with us this cause has triumphed, but with them, it has been hopelessly crushed. Their chief unfitness for representative institutions arises from a defect the cure of which rests mainly with ourselves. Their fault is that they would not fight on behalf of these institu-

tions, if they were seriously attacked ; they can only be seriously attacked by our own officers ; if we take care that this attack is not made, there is little doubt that the people will in time learn to appreciate and defend them. We believe that the task of bridging over this gulf, though a difficult, is by no means a hopeless one. Where a *bond fide* share in the government has been offered to the people they have eagerly accepted it, and on the whole they have discharged the duties entrusted to them with much greater success than we could have expected. If they have done so in small matters, would they not do so in great ones ? If they have served gladly as Municipal Commissioners, would they not still more readily take a part in the real government of the country ? No one denies that they would do so, and the only question is what part shall be assigned to them ?

One proposal is that natives of India should be more freely admitted into the Executive Government, and especially into its higher appointments. We thoroughly approve of this, but it is no remedy for the evil we are now discussing, which is the want of sympathy between the government and the people. The proscription of a whole nation from all the higher official posts is as bitter an insult as could be offered to the national feeling ; we are thankful to say that there is no sanction whatever accorded to this proscription in the law of the land, or the orders of Government. There is no legal impediment to the appointment of a Hindu or a Muhammadan to the Governor-Generalship itself. But there is a combination of all classes of Englishmen, both official and non-official, to exclude natives from any post of which the salary is worth the acceptance of a "respectably connected" European. Some young Bengalis no sooner succeed in forcing an entrance into the sacred ranks of the Covenanted Civil Service than fire is opened against them from all sides. Probably not a single one of their assailants has had the very slightest opportunity of judging the real powers of these young men, but this is of no consequence whatever. Their education has been superficial, and they are mere empty smatterers ; this is proved by the mere fact that they have passed an examination in which those who know nothing whatever about it, or who have themselves failed at it, say that success is attained solely by "cram," but in which those who have themselves passed assert most positively that mere cram and superficial smattering are useless. Of course we are informed that the new men cannot ride, and that they are physically weak ; but as every Englishman is not a Fordham or a Hercules, we condescendingly admit that these qualifications, though desirable, are not absolutely indispensable, and we pass on to assert as an indisputable truism that no Bengali can possibly possess that "cool courage" and moral firmness which saved the Empire in the crisis of its

"destiny." These qualities are admirable, no doubt, and perhaps we admire them none the less because every man can assert, and really believe, that he possesses them himself and that his opponent does not. But when the crisis does arrive, these qualities are often found where least expected, and are as often "conspicuous by their absence" in the great officials who have been supposed to be their only depositaries. Are we really justified in assuming that all Englishmen are cool and wise in danger, that no Bengáli are so, and that consequently every Englishman and no Bengáli is fit to be entrusted with the charge of a district? The late Kuka disturbances in the Panjáb will scarcely bear out the first assertion; as to the truth of the second we have no evidence whatever, for we have never tried the experiment.

Those who rail at the supposed effeminacy and cowardice of the Bengális are anxious to assure us that they do so from disinterested motives; they are in no way opposed to the admission of natives generally, it is in fact on behalf of natives that they protest against the elevation of the least worthy races to a position of authority. They would be only too glad to see any post conferred on the old aristocracy, or the manj Sikhs. It is unfortunate that those who profess these sentiments have not the higher offices in their gift; for there is a contrast between these professions and actual practice which our native fellow-subjects may consider arises from inconsistency, and not from the fact that English public opinion is powerless to secure an object it so much desires, as the appointment of natives to high posts. Let us take the Commissions of the Non-Regulation Provinces, which are so largely officered by military and uncovenanted men. Who are these men? We have not a word to say against them as a class; on the whole they have no doubt done their work quite as well as their covenanted brethren, and some of them are amongst the very best servants the Government possess. But these qualities have been displayed since their appointment, which was originally due—in the great number of cases—to interest and not to merit. It cannot, therefore, be alleged that Englishmen had proved a superior fitness which could not be disregarded. After providing for every Englishman who could possibly claim an appointment on the ground of merit, a very large number of vacancies would still have remained. The disposers of patronage might have gratified their desire of providing for the "manly" Sikh or "high born" Rájput to their heart's content. Have they done so? How many natives are there in the Non-Regulation Commissions? One, Mahmud Hyat Khan, C.S.I., who was the Orderly of the Great Nicholson, who has lately, in some matters connected with the frontier tribes, rendered more service to the Panjáb Government than the majority of officers are likely to render during the whole of their career,

has lately been appointed to the bottom of the list of Assistant Commissioners ; that is, it is possible for him to rise to the charge of a district some 30 years hence, if no outsiders are brought in and placed over his head. About the same time a Cavalry officer of whose services no one had ever heard, but who was probably related to some one in power, was made a full-blown Deputy Commissioner in the Central Provinces.

When these facts are pressed home to the notice of the friends of the manly Sikh, they often turn round and impute to all natives the defects they have ascribed to Bengalis. But whether they do this or not, the real reason at length is given, "no European would consent to serve under a native." We cannot blame the European ; if by asserting that he will not serve *under* another, "he is likely to be appointed to serve *over* him, he would be very foolish not to make the assertion. If, however, the alternative was serving *under* or not serving at all, the objection would soon disappear. The flunkey who could not demean himself by saying Amen ! to a governess, would have put his pride in his pocket as soon as he found it caused him practical inconvenience. We remember hearing a young civilian loudly asserting the impossibility of one of his service serving under "an uncovenanted man ;" but on his transfer to a Non-Regulation Province, he himself submitted to the degradation without a murmur. So it would be in the case of natives. Although we have been answering the objections raised against the employment of natives in posts of responsibility, it must not be supposed that we desire that a native should be appointed to such a post simply because he is a native. This would be even a greater mistake than to appoint a man simply because he is a European. All we ask is that there should be no prejudice on either side, that a man's fitness for a particular post should be judged only by the qualities of the man himself, and not by the qualities we may choose to put forward as the characteristic of his nation generally.

We claim it is a right for the natives of this country that they should be treated practically, as they are already regarded theoretically, as equally eligible with Europeans for any post they are personally capable of filling. We are by no means insensible of the steps already taken by the Government in this direction ; we may think that they might have been more decided, but we must acknowledge that it is a great thing to have made a beginning. But however freely natives may be admitted to official appointments, and however great may be the benefits of adopting this policy, it is clear that it does not necessarily involve an extension of popular institutions. No doubt the people are brought more into sympathy with the Government when they feel that it is no longer exclusively in the hands of a bureaucracy of aliens ; but

the admission of individual natives into the personnel of the Government does not necessarily secure a greater control over public affairs by the non-official public. The ideal state is not one in which all alike may hope to share in the emoluments and privileges of office, but rather the one in which the public itself, by taking an intelligent part in politics, brings these emoluments and privileges under proper control.

Some writers despairing of the existence of such a control in India have proposed to create it in England by permitting India to return members to the House of Commons. Such a proposal scarcely requires serious consideration. It would be impossible to separate English from Indian questions; if Indian members were excluded from voting on the former, they might with equal justice demand that English members should be excluded from voting on the latter questions. No one for a moment imagines that the English people would submit to have their home policy decided by men elected to represent the wants, or even the prejudices of our Indian districts. If Indian members were admitted at all, it would be in such a small number that they could have no appreciable effect on a division. It is said that they are not wanted for actual voting power; their part would be to make known to the Parliament of England the real wants of the people of India. But surely if the English governing body really desires to ascertain these wants, it would be much simpler for the officials employed in India to place themselves in direct communication with the people themselves! Can we really suppose that the wants of 200 millions could be adequately represented by half a dozen of even the most enlightened natives of India addressing a somewhat larger number of English members of Parliament? The utmost the Indian gentlemen could do would be to deliver some general orations on the benefits of popular institutions; even if they understood themselves, they would entirely fail to make their hearers understand, what were the practical evils of which they complained, and what was the value of the remedies they proposed. And how are these half dozen gentlemen to be selected? Are they to be appointed by a series of Electoral Colleges? Is each district in India to elect representatives, who will again elect representatives for the province; who will finally select a few members to proceed to England? Surely if the people are capable of electing true representatives in the first instance, and these again have sufficient judgment to select the fittest men in the second election, the people and their immediate representatives are already quite capable of taking an intelligent interest in public affairs, and are fit to be admitted to a considerable share in their control.

Are they not fit now, we do not say to exercise all the power

of the House of Commons, but at least to be allowed to express their wishes. We have already pointed out that much of the estrangement between the Government and the people is due to the contempt with which high officials treat the notion of the existence of anything like an intelligent public opinion. If any official coming direct from his district into the Council room asserts that the people have a strong opinion on a certain point, and that it is against the proposals of Government, he is 'met in the first instance with the "lie direct"—he is told that the people have no opinion, and that he is simply trying to impose his own ideas on the Council as the sayings of a mythical Mrs. Harris. If he succeeds in proving that his statement about popular opinion is true, he is then met with the "retort courteous," and told that if the people really do hold these views they must be downright fools. No doubt some of our statesmen have such a profound conviction of their own infallibility that no amount of evidence would convince them that they are wrong on any point, but they will not hold office for ever. We cannot do the Government the injustice of believing that all its members are as obstinate as those to whom we refer; we believe that the Government as a whole is really anxious to ascertain the true feelings of the people, and that it is prepared to give an impartial hearing to the reasons by which those feelings are supported. How can it do this unless there is some organized system for the expression of these feelings? And what system can be compared with the one of assembling the representatives of the people themselves? It is said that popular opinion can be more truly ascertained by the officers of Government. This we deny entirely. Even if we assume that the district officer is a thoroughly able and impartial man, that he will transmit to his superiors what the people really think, untinged by any views of his own—after all, the Government will but have received second-hand what it might have obtained direct. We need not point out the positive harm that arises if the officer fails himself to ascertain correctly public opinion, or makes an incorrect report on it to his superiors.

We think, then, that any serious attempt to bring the Government and the people nearer together must be based on the establishment of representative institutions of some kind or another. It remains for us to consider what should be the form of these institutions, and what should be the functions of the assemblies thus formed.

It is clear that these assemblies must be local. An assembly for all India would be open to much the same objections as the plan for sending members to England. If the number of members were small the representation would be inadequate. If the number were enlarged so that the different parts of the country were

fairly represented, not only would the assembly be unwieldy, but it would become a perfect Babel. It would become so if each locality attempted to make itself heard, and if the localities were silenced, the very object of the assembly would be frustrated. We want to ascertain the feelings of the people on certain practical points connected with the actual working of the Government machine, and not to listen to a series of essays on the best theory of government. On the other hand if we multiply our assemblies to such an extent that each contains the representatives of but a very small area, we miss all the advantage arising from the meeting together of men with different habits and ideas, we are likely only to intensify local prejudices, and we should necessarily lower the dignity and importance of the Assembly in the eyes of the public. We think that we could not do better than follow the existing administrative divisions. Each local government, including in this term the government of a Chief Commissioner, should have its separate Assembly. Benigal, Madras, and Bombay have each their local councils; these might be retained as separate institutions, or merged in the new Assemblies.

Who are to be the members of these Assemblies? Shall officials be admitted? We think so, most decidedly. Were they to be excluded, one great object which we seek, the bringing of the Government into direct contact with the people, would be defeated. Ideas, and even erroneous opinions mooted in the Assembly would have to be transmitted to Government "through the usual channels," and would be replied to in the usual official language. The benefit of having officials who were obliged to listen to views opposed to their own, and to meet them in fair argument, would in itself be very great. We must also remember that in addition to their position as members of the Government, many officials are really the very best representatives of the people that could possibly be selected. An intelligent officer who has passed the greater part of his life in hard district work, and who honestly desires the improvement of the country, has almost as thorough a knowledge of popular wants as the people themselves. His power of forcibly and clearly expressing these wants is far superior to that of almost any native member, for he is not only more practised in expressing his own ideas, but his higher culture enables him to more easily realise and combat the ideas of his opponent. For instance, some practical objection to a Government proposal is stated by a native; it is answered by a member of the Government by a reference to certain theoretical principles; the native knows nothing of these principles, and he either subsides, or enunciates other principles of his own which cannot for a moment stand the test of criticism. But

his European ally is as well acquainted as the member of Government with the theories so boldly brought forward; he is able to point out that the meaning now assigned to them is totally different from the meaning of the original author, and he can shew conclusively that they have no application whatever to the question under discussion. As to what officials should be admitted, we can lay down no precise rule, for the circumstances of the various provinces differ so greatly, that what would be a good arrangement in one, might be mischievous in another. We can only lay down what we conceive to be the true object of the appointment of officials, and leave it to the local governments to carry it out in detail. In the first place it is necessary that the non-officials should greatly out-number the official members; for were it otherwise, the voting power of the officials, aided by the non-officials who, from motives of self-interest always support the Government, would be so great, that all expression of popular opinion, in opposition to the Government, would be crushed. In the second place we must remember that we require the attendance of officials for two purposes,—a defence of Government measures, and an advocacy of the feelings of the people. The former duty can best be performed by officers more or less intimately connected with the Government, who know all the cards in the Government hand, who are acquainted with the whole of its policy, and who can defend its measures with all the skill of an able but honest advocate. These men would be, as it were, in the position of ministers of the Crown; they must be appointed by personal selection, and this selection must be made by the Government itself.

The other class of official members may be roughly described as the independent section of the Government party. It may be said, that as a rule, they would support the Government policy but they would not hesitate to oppose any particular measure that they thought objectionable. The qualities demanded of them would be a sympathy with the people, and a practical acquaintance with the work of administration. As we have already said, we can lay down no fixed rule for their appointment, but we might suggest that all officers holding a position equivalent to that of Magistrate of the district would come under this class. If we assume the number of districts in a province to be about thirty, we should thus have thirty officials who were ex-officio members of the new Assembly; if to these were added some twenty others personally selected by Government, the total number of officials would be about fifty, and this seems to us to be the number really required.

To arrange in detail for the appointment of non-official, is even more difficult than to arrange for official members. For the

political state of each province, *or even of the various districts of a province, differs far more widely than its administrative arrangements. Town and country,—that is the trading and agricultural classes,—should both be fairly represented, and the representation should be to a great extent in proportion to the actual strength of these interests. If we were to take a minimum of two and a maximum of four members for each district, and two representatives from each first-class, and one from each second-class municipality, we should obtain a very fair assembly in point of numbers. The country members would be in excess of the official; what would be the precise number of town members we cannot say without referring to the statistics of the municipalities of each province. They should be very little, if anything, in excess of the country members; if the number of second-class municipalities in any one district is very great, they might divide their quota of members between them.

Having decided roughly what is to be the constitution of the proposed Assembly, the next question is, how are its members to be appointed? The natural answer would be, by popular election. This no doubt will ultimately be the means employed, but we must not suffer ourselves to be carried away by popular phraseology, or to be unduly anxious for the introduction of particular forms which are not likely to work well in practice. We are perfectly aware that the argument that "the people are not yet fitted" for such and such a thing, is often put forward merely as an excuse, for retaining power and patronage in official hands. But it is unfortunately true that the people sometimes are unfitted; and when they are so, it is useless to pretend that they are not. We have proposed that the town members should be appointed by the municipal committees, and we have no doubt that the members of these committees are perfectly capable of selecting their own representatives. In these cases, therefore, the appointment should undoubtedly be by election. But to call on all the agriculturists of the district to elect a representative would be simply an absurdity. To ninety-nine per cent. of the electors the whole proceedings would be utterly unintelligible, and the few who did understand the duty they were called on to discharge, would have but little conception of the motives which ought to actuate them in performing it. Where local rate committees, and other similar institutions, have been established, it might be possible to adopt the modified form of election suggested for municipal committees; but otherwise we would leave the selection, for the present, to the district officer, of course restricting his choice to the landowners of his district. We are fully alive to all the benefits attaching to the system of popular election, and we may fairly hope that the people will one day

enjoy them. If we really wish them to do so, our true policy is to train them generally to appreciate them ; when we have taught them to take an intelligent and active part in the management of small things, when they have shewn themselves capable of selecting fit men to serve as their representatives on municipal and other committees, we may then entrust them with the duty of electing members for the Provincial Assembly.

We have now sketched, in outline, the proposed Assembly ; if our suggestions were carried out it would contain about 200 members ; 50 of these would be official, and the remaining 150 would be distributed between the trading and agricultural interests. The important question now arises, what is the Assembly, thus created, to do ? Those who object to the ideas of an Assembly *in toto*, often put their objections in the form of a dilemma. They say, if you collect these men together merely as a sort of social science congress, where each member can air his crotchets, the whole thing ending in empty talk, you are at best making a great waste of valuable time, you will probably be weakening the Government, and making men imagine they have grievances merely for the sake of having a subject for a speech. If, on the other hand, you propose to endow your new Assembly with all the powers of the House of Commons, the result will be still more disastrous. Legislation will be rendered impossible ; measures really necessary for the welfare of the country will be rejected *in limine*, or even if their principle is accepted, almost every member will tinker them with amendments which will make them nonsense, and the control exercised over the executive would make Government an impossibility ; and the control of the finances would simply mean that whilst no money would be voted for really public purposes, large sums would be squandered on the grossest jobbery ; finally this money would be raised, not by an equitable system of general taxation, but openly throwing the burdens directly on the weakest classes of the community, or at best by reviving the vexatious and ruinous protective duties of Native States. Those who raise these objections assume that the alternative is the House of Commons or nothing ; and that any Assembly possessing less actual power than that House must be a mischievous sham, a mere hindrance to real work. Do they suppose that the House of Commons, with all the mass of traditions by which it is practically governed, sprung from the brain of Simon de Montfort fully equipped in all its modern armour ? The men who composed that statesman's first parliament had quite as crude notions of the general principles of legislation and finance as the Natives of India at the present day ; had it been objected to Simon de Montfort that his parliament was utterly incapable of debating the disestablishment of the Irish Church, or of calling a minister to account for his foreign

policy, his reply would have been—God forbid that they should attempt such things! But he would not have admitted that because they could not do this they were useless. No one will now maintain that they were so, unless, indeed, he be a thorough-going advocate of despotism, and considers any check on the power of the Government mischievous. Of the powers now exercised by the House of Commons the original House had scarcely a shadow. The power of the purse is regarded by us as the great emblem of popular control, and no doubt it has been held by the Commons almost from their birth. But we must remember that in early days this power was something very different to what it is now. Now not a single branch of the public service can be carried on without a distinct vote of the House, and a general refusal of supply would simply reduce the country to a state of anarchy. Then the expense of the whole of the general administration, such as it was, was defrayed out of the hereditary revenues of the crown, and taxes, like tonnage and poundage, voted to the sovereign for life at the commencement of his reign. Supplies were then demanded for some especial purpose, such as a war, or to free the king from his private debts. If they were refused, the general business of the country would go on as usual; the only result would be that the monarch would be thwarted in his wishes, and if he wished to carry his point he had to concede some equivalent. Thus the principle arose that supply was contingent on the redress of grievances; but this is something very different from the principle now openly acknowledged, that the sole control of all the financial system rests with the House of Commons.

If the House's power of the purse was not great, its legislating power was still smaller. Even now laws are enacted nominally not by the Parliament, but by the Sovereign "by and with the advice and consent" of Parliament. We need scarcely say that this phraseology now represents only a legal fiction, but in the early days of Parliament laws were really and truly enacted by the Crown. It was long before measures introduced into Parliament even took the form of bills. Originally they were mere petitions, praying the sovereign to issue a certain order; if the petition were granted the king's officer placed it with others, and at the end of the session drafted the prayer and its endorsement into a formal order.

As to the control exercised over the executive government, we need only observe that when the Commons at length obtained the recognition of their power of impeachment, they felt that they had gained a great victory.

To attempt to sketch even in the briefest manner the way in which the House of Commons attained its present position would require not one or two paragraphs in the present article, but a

whole series of separate essays. All that we wish to point out is the fact, that the powers now exercised by the House were not conferred on it at its birth, but have been gradually gained by it in the struggles of centuries. These powers rest on the unwritten rather than on the written law of the country, on the understanding which we call constitutional practice that has grown up from generation to generation, and not on the grammatical meaning of the Act of Settlement. To confer these powers on a newly created Assembly would be simply an impossibility ; all that we can do is to call our Assembly together, lay down some very general rules for its guidance, and leave it to work out its own destiny. We know that it cannot, for many generations obtain the position of the House of Commons, but it by no means follows that it will be useless.

What are the principles that we should thus lay down ? The whole subject is exhaustively treated by Mr. Mill in his fifth chapter on the "Proper Functions of Representative Bodies." The conclusions at which he arrives are these ; the Assembly should maintain full control over Legislation, the Executive Government, and Taxation, but this control should be a control over general principles, and not an interference in the petty details of actual administration. Thus the Assembly should determine the general principle of a proposed law, but leave it to a skilled commission to draw up the measure in detail. If the Act thus drafted failed to satisfy the Assembly it might be entirely rejected or sent back to the commission for amendment, but no alteration of the clauses in detail should be attempted by members of the Assembly themselves. As regards the executive government, the Assembly should content itself with seeing that trustworthy men are placed at the head of the various departments ; it should remove them when they cease to deserve its confidence, but as long as they retain office the details of administration should be left in their hands. Similarly, the introduction of all measures of taxation should be left to properly qualified and responsible ministers. Their schemes might be rejected wholly or in part, but the Assembly should make no attempt to substitute schemes of its own for any part of the ministerial plan.

The above principles are, of course, based on the idea that the ultimate control must rest with the Representative Assembly,—and this ultimate control must rest with the actually strongest power in the State. This does not mean that the weakest party ought to be stripped of every semblance of power, or that the written law should be constantly changed so as to correspond with the apparent strength of rival interests. It may be that, as in the English Constitution, the maxims of the unwritten, remedy all defects in the written law. In such a case, to insist on a

change in the latter would be most unwise. The written law of England assigns to the Sovereign personally many prerogatives which have been virtually abolished by the unwritten law ; as long as the Sovereign abstains from any attempt to revive them their theoretical retention is harmless, and to insist on their formal repeal would only provoke angry opposition. But the case is different when we are erecting for the first time representative institutions on the basis of a written law. To formally assign to such institutions a power they are practically incapable of exercising would be the surest way of bringing them into disrepute. A minister who thoroughly hated popular government, could find no surer way of defeating it for a season, than by pretending to be deeply enamoured of it, and insisting on introducing it into India in its extreme form. An imitation House of Commons would soon bring the government of the country to a deadlock—in a deadlock the weakest has to give way ; in a free country the weakest is the minister, for he knows that if he were to attempt to triumph over his opponents by a *coup d'état* the whole country would rise against him. But in India the country would not rise ; the Assembly would, for the time being, be crushed, and the minister would assert, almost without contradiction, that popular government had been proved an impracticable dream.

We must, therefore, be content with assigning to our proposed Assembly powers far short of those which it ought to possess in theory, and to which we may hope it will some day attain. Thus, in the department of legislation, instead of having an absolute power of framing and rejecting laws, it should be restricted to giving its opinion. Any member of the Assembly might introduce a measure of his own : it would be duly discussed, and, if approved, forwarded to the Legislative Council for enactment. We would insist on its being formally introduced into the latter body, but we would not insist on its being passed. The Bill should not be quietly buried in the office of the Secretariat ; those who were opposed to it should be responsible for its rejection, and should openly avow the grounds of their opposition. Similarly, all measures proposed by Government should be, in the first instance, laid before the Provincial Assembly ; the principles involved should be thoroughly explained, and objections to these, or to the details of the measure, met with fair argument. The Assembly should proceed to vote in the ordinary way, but we would not make its vote final. Although a measure were rejected by the Assembly, the Government might still introduce it into the Legislative Council, and, if carried there, enact it law. But it would obviously abstain from doing so unless it were very sure of the soundness of its policy : and the more real the power of the Assembly became, the less frequently would this prerogative be exercised. If,

eventually, the Assembly were to become the real power of the State, this right of legislating without its consent would become as obsolete as the Sovereign's personal veto in the English Constitution.

The control of our proposed Assembly over the executive government would, nominally at least, be small. In England the control is based on the power of dismissal possessed by the House of Commons. When that body declares that the chief officers of Government no longer possess its confidence, they are forced to resign *en masse*. The House by deliberately forcing them to do so implies that it has its eye on another set of men able and willing to take their places. Gladstone and Disraeli, and their respective followers; change seats, and the effect on the country in general is almost imperceptible. But the resignation of the Viceroy and his Councillors and Lieutenants, and the succession of the leaders of the opposition in the provincial assemblies would mean the wildest revolution. When the assemblies have produced men fit to take office, it will be time enough to consider whether a vote of the Assembly should be sufficient to place them there. But in the meantime we by no mean wish to imply that the Assembly should give up all thought of executive government as matters too high for it. Long before the House of Commons gained its power of practically nominating the minister of the crown, it possessed the privilege of questioning and impeaching them. This power of questioning we would allow to its fullest extent; of course the official interrogated might decline to answer when the public interest really demanded his silence, but he should not make this plea simply an excuse for keeping the people in ignorance; the more a government can take the people into its confidence the stronger will be its hold on popular affections. As to the power of impeachment little need be said; it is practically obsolete, and it is so mixed up with the peculiarities of the English Constitution that it is obviously unsuited to India. We have already said that any person can sue any official for damages in the civil courts; for his prosecution in the criminal courts for his official acts the sanction of Government is necessary. It might be enacted that the Government should be bound to give this sanction, if asked to do so, by a formal vote of the Assembly, and of course the Assembly would have the power to vote an address praying for the removal of any particular offender.

Over taxation a popular assembly has less control than over other matters of legislation. Even in England, though Parliament can refuse grants of money, it cannot make them except on the proposal of the ministers of the Crown. In the same way, we would propose that in our assembly, money-bills should be introduced only by Government; that they should be debated upon

and sent to the Legislative Council like other bills. We cannot allow a power of absolute refusal for the same reason that we cannot give the Assembly an absolute control over the executive. The rejection of the financial schemes of the Government implies that the opposition leaders are prepared with rival schemes of their own, and that they are ready to take office and carry them out. If this is not the case, the persistent refusal of the Assembly to grant supplies would inevitably produce that deadlock, which, in the present state of the country, would lead to the destruction of the Assembly itself.

It may be objected that an Assembly, without actual power of controlling the Government, would be a mere debating society, and that its discussions and decisions, not being followed by any definite legal results, would be mere empty talk. This charge of wasting time in talk is one that has been brought against even those assemblies which do possess the ultimate power of control, and it is thus ably answered by Mr. Mill.—

“Representative assemblies are often taunted by their enemies with being places of mere talk and *bavardage*. There has seldom been more misplaced derision. I know not how a representative assembly can more usefully employ itself than in talk, when the subject of talk is the great public interests of the country, and every sentence of it represents the opinion either of some important body of persons in the nation, or of an individual in whom some such body have reposed their confidence. A place where every interest and shade of opinion in the country can have its cause even passionately pleaded, in the face of the Government and of all other interests and opinions, can compel them to listen, and either comply, or state clearly why they do not, is in itself, if it answered no other purpose, one of the most important political institutions that can exist anywhere, and one of the foremost benefits of free government. Such ‘talking’ would never be looked upon with disparagement if it were not allowed to stop ‘doing’; which it never would, if assemblies knew and acknowledged that talking and discussion are their proper business, while *doing*, as the result of discussion, is the task not of a miscellaneous body, but of individuals specially trained to it; that the fit office of an assembly is to see that those individuals are honestly and intelligently chosen, and to interfere no further with them, except by unlimited latitude of suggestion and criticism, and by applying or withholding the final seal of national assent. It is for want of this judicious reserve that popular assemblies attempt to do what they cannot do well—to govern and legislate—and provide no machinery but their own for much of it, when of course every hour spent in talk is an hour withdrawn from actual business. But the

"very fact which most unfits such bodies for a council of legislation qualifies them the more for their other office, *viz.*, that they are not a selection of the greatest political minds in the country, from whose opinions little could with certainty be inferred concerning those of the nation, but one, when properly constituted, a fair sample of every grade of intellect among the people which is at all entitled to a voice in public affairs. Their part is to indicate wants, to be an organ for popular demands, and a place of adverse discussion for all opinions relating to public matters, both great and small; and, along with this, to check by criticism, and eventually by withdrawing their support, those high public officers who really conduct the public business, or who appoint those by whom it is conducted. Nothing but the restriction of the functions of representative bodies within these rational limits will enable the benefits of popular control to be enjoyed in conjunction with the no less important requisites, (growing ever more important as human affairs increase in scale and in complexity,) of skilled legislation and administration. There are no means of combining these benefits except by separating the functions which guarantee the one, from those which essentially require the other; by disjoining the office of control and criticism from the actual conduct of affairs, and devolving the former on the representatives of the many, while securing for the latter, under strict responsibility to the nation, the acquired knowledge and practised intelligence of a specially trained and experienced few."

It is true that an assembly such as we have sketched would not possess this power of control, and of "finally withholding the seal of national assent;" but it is this very power which leads to that undue interference in details which makes the charge of waste of time in talk sometimes deserved. The absence of this power may cause our assembly to fall short of an ideal representative body, but it would in no way deprive it of its true functions of discussion and criticism; on the contrary, from the absence of the temptation to interfere in actual administration, it is probable that these functions would be more freely and fully exercised. Because the assembly could not positively force the Government to accept its opinions, it by no means follows that its expression of these opinions would be useless. To maintain that it is mere waste of time for a man to express his opinions, and for others to listen to him if he cannot enforce them, is to advocate that tyranny of the numerical majority, which is denounced by our most thoughtful writers, as the greatest danger and evil of a democratic government. Mr. Mill himself, when in Parliament, could scarcely persuade the House to adopt a single one of his opinions; when he rose to express them their defeat was almost a foregone conclusion; as far as any

practical result was concerned his speeches were mere talk, yet no man can seriously maintain that listening to them was a waste of time.

Before we condemn an assembly as useless we must fairly consider what is its *raison d'être*. Popular institutions are valuable because they raise the moral and intellectual condition of the whole people of the country, and not because they give us better laws or reform the administration, or even because they prevent the official classes from oppressing the other members of the community. Let us admit that for the next fifty years the proposed assemblies will not cause the passing of a single law, the institution of a single administrative reform, the prevention of a single case of oppression which would not have been passed, instituted, or prevented under the present *régime*, yet it will be possible for them at the end of this period to have done an amount of good which is simply incalculable. For they may have taught the people of India that God has *not* divided mankind into two simple classes, the governors and the governed; that supreme power in the State is not a prize to be snatched by the strongest, and used by him for his own private advantage till the day when "there cometh a stronger than he who taketh from him the armour in which he trusted;" that such of the evils affecting the social state which are curable by the governing power are to be cured not by sitting down in despair and praying for a benevolent despot, but by the firm resolve of the people not to permit the evil to continue. They may teach them, too, that the science of government is not a system of skilful intriguing by each class or interest for its own supremacy and advantage, but an unselfish desire by all to pass those measures which will advance the true interests of the nation; that there is such a thing as the common good, and that it is the duty of every one to strive after this in his political, even as he should strive after the *τὸ καλὸν* in his private life.

That this lesson should be mastered in fifty, or even a hundred years, is more than we can possibly expect. But it is the bounden duty of those who have mastered it to endeavour to teach it to others; and no anticipations of the dullness of their pupils can absolve them from this duty. We Englishmen should feel proud that, both from our position with regard to the government of the country, and from the training we have individually enjoyed, this duty belongs to us. If in this article we have urged the Government to progress, we would not have it supposed that we ignore what it has already done: probably no Government in the world has ever spontaneously given its subjects so much freedom. It has voluntarily placed its officials, from the Governor-General downward, under the control of the law; it has delegated to a Council—which, if it can scarcely be called a really representative body, is

certainly a great advance on the bureau of a single despot—the whole power of legislation and taxation ; and it has, by establishing municipal and local committees, sown the seeds of free institutions, the further development of which depends solely on the people themselves.

Even as regards the admission of natives to high appointments, the Government policy is infinitely in advance of the opinion of individual Englishmen ; and the instances where it has been practically carried out, if not numerous, are very important. Every appointment, even of a single native to an office hitherto held exclusively by Europeans, is a great victory ; all this the Government has done voluntarily ; most of the changes were never even demanded, and never has the demand been too vehement to be easily resisted. We urge it to carry out this policy to its legitimate result ; but we most thoroughly appreciate its conduct in adopting it at all.

But when the Government has done its utmost, there is much that can only be done by the personal character of Englishmen individually : no excellency in a system of mere teaching will affect what has been effected by the personal influence of an Arnold. We may set up by law the outward forms of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity ; but if we hate and despise our fellow-subjects in our hearts, they will not respect or love us the more for coming to them with a lie on our lips. The influence of a Master, who has truly loved his pupils, lasts through life ; they may rise to a position equal, or even superior to his, but they will always look up to him with respect, and cherish every tie that tends to keep up the old connection. How different is the case of the hired crammer ! He teaches his pupils the same facts as the other, he may even teach them better ; but the transaction is a purely business one. He teaches them, not because he takes the slightest interest in their welfare, but because he can make a large income by doing so. With the payment of the last bill, all connection between master and pupil ceases. Instead of respect, the pupil's sole feeling is a desire to pay out his former master for the arrogance and contempt with which he was formerly treated. We are in the position of the master,—which type do we most nearly resemble ? Here and there an Arnold may be doing God's work ; but we fear that we must confess that the majority of us are no more than hired tutors. We wish we could think otherwise ; but the evidence is too strong for us. Take the English portion of the press. There is little fault to find with the general policy advocated : but do not the correspondence columns, and all that expresses the feelings of Englishmen personally, teem with complaints against this "beastly country," and the failings of its inhabitants ? Would not a stranger gather from this, that our one idea is to draw as large a salary, and

get off home as soon as we possibly can? Again, what opinions do we hear expressed in private life? Do not Europeans, as a rule, look on the natives precisely as the Southern slave-owners looked on their slaves? To the precise way of expressing their feelings they may differ, just as the conversation of a humane and refined owner differed from that of his overseer. The coarseness and brutality of the latter is represented by the class amongst us that openly boasts of its powers in "licking niggers;" and this coarseness and brutality are none the less real because they are occasionally veneered over by a certain social position, and that knowledge of the rules of society which enables a man to assume amongst his own set the outward manners of a gentleman. And even with a higher type of men, how commonly do we hear the hateful term "nigger" used with no expression of anger, or even of intentional contempt, but as if it were really the proper designation of that inferior race,—the natives of this country? Even with those who do not use this term, the feeling which prompts its use is not wholly laid aside. We have ourselves heard a missionary—not a hypocrite, but one who really believed in his religion and worked hard for its propagation, say with reference to a native clergyman, who was in every way his equal, that the excellence of the latter shewed what the grace of God could effect "even in a native." The majority of us go to church Sunday after Sunday, and pray to a God "who" we profess to believe—"has made of one blood all races of men for to dwell on the face of the earth." No sooner is the service over than the sincerity of our belief is proved by the gentlemen of the congregation speaking of our "brethren" as "d—d niggers," and the ladies referring to them as "those horrid natives."

Until this feeling is banished, all our professed anxiety for a closer sympathy between governors and governed is useless. We may set up the forms of popular government;—we may even teach the people to appreciate their usefulness so that they will not readily allow them to be destroyed; if so, the blessing we shall have conferred on them will be immense; but they will shew us little gratitude for it. Nor shall we deserve it. May not the people fairly reply;—"true, you have accomplished a great work, but you have been well paid for it;—true, you devoted your whole energies to us during school hours, but out of those hours you treated us as the dust beneath your feet;—now that we no longer want your instruction, you ask us to continue to regard you as a loving guide and friend. We answer, love and guidance we have never received from you: had you shewn them to us in our youth, whilst we were under your care, they would have been invaluable to us;—as it is we have grown up as best we could, and our friendships, for good or ill, are

“already formed ;—you now offer us yours, you must pardon us if we say that it would only embarrass us, and that we must decline it.”

We gladly acknowledge that many Europeans have laid aside their caste prejudices, and are working heartily with the people for the people ; but we fear that with the mass of our countrymen these prejudices are as firmly rooted as ever. Because we ask them to lay them aside, they must not think that we say that they only are to blame for the present estrangement between the races ;—or that we are blind to the defects of character so often found in individual natives that they may be not unjustly termed national characteristics. These defects may even be more numerous and more fatal than those of the European, and we should be the last to call them virtues, simply because the person in whom they are found are natives of India. That these faults should be pointed out and removed is by all means desirable, but we would leave this task to indigenous reformers ;—let us rather content ourselves for the present with curing our own faults, remembering who it was that said to us :—“First cast out the beam out of thine own eye ;—and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother’s eye.”

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Rājasthāner itivritta : based on the *History of Rājasthān*, by Lieut.-Colonel Tod. Mivār. Part 1. Calcutta : New Bengal Press. Samvat, 1929.

“HISTORY,” says Dryden, “is a prospective glass carrying one’s soul to a vast distance and taking in the farthest objects of antiquity.” There one may see a picture of the world and of the nature of mankind ; and find from what slight and sometimes shaming occasions some of those men had originally taken their rise, who afterwards have had great authority in the world, and borne down all before them. But bare facts and minutiae of details are terribly teasing to all readers. A man that reads for amusement to beguile the tedium of his idle hours, must have something that can please his fancy, afford food to his understanding, and at the same time almost imperceptibly store his mind with facts. Bengal, though at present very prolific in literary and scientific works, was till lately sadly deficient in this kind of historical literature. The publication under notice is a creditable attempt to supply this deficiency. The author has undertaken an arduous task. In the first place, the circle of readers which he addresses is very wide. He writes to a national public, beginning, but only beginning, to feel that their country’s history is a practical concern for themselves. In the next place, Rājasthān is made up of so many small principalities that were he to take only a superficial view of the events that occurred there, his work would be voluminous. To use the language of Colonel Tod :—“There is not a petty state in Rājasthān that has not had its Thermopylae, and scarcely a city that has not produced its Leonidas. But the mantle of ages has shrouded from view what the magic pen of the historian might have consecrated to endless admiration.” Our author, in the learned introduction that he has prefixed to his work, exhorts us to remember two things while reviewing a history of India. First, that the prominent place which history has gained in the studies of modern nations, was not accorded to it by the ancients. Second, that it is unjust to expect from the ancient authors of India, the same tone in writing histories which modern European scholars have imbibed by imitating the best Roman and Greek models ; for as in everything else, India treads quite a different path from all

other nations. Bearing these two propositions in mind, the more we search into the yet unsunned heaps of mytho-historical records of ancient and mediæval India, the more we are convinced that there existed some authentic historical records which were used in after years by Válmiki, Vyása, and other sages as the groundworks on which to raise their stupendous edifices. The Puráṇas themselves testify to the same effect : and these were probably the *Gáthás*. The truth of this statement of the author is further confirmed by the fact that the exact genealogies of the Solar and Lunar races could never have been compiled had there not been an authentic account that was handed down by careful scribes.

The descendants of the Solar and Lunar races, though they preserved the warlike spirit of their ancestors, and though the national spirit of independence burnt in their breasts ever and anon, and was fiercely kindled in cases of emergency, lost everything on account of their internal dissensions. The Ghorian could never have won the battle of Thaneshwar, had not Prithví Rájá quarrelled with Jaychandra of Kanauj :—"There was a time," says our author, "when the Hindú flag floated on every part of India, from the cloud-belted Himálava to the sea-girt Singhalá." But where is that glory gone? Fled ;—perhaps for ever, making it altogether a matter of the obscure past, and leaving no relic behind. Even records are rare, that would attest that glory. Lieutenant-Colonel Tod, by his unwearied researches, has left us a fairly accurate history of Rájasthán ; yet in some parts, his book is uninteresting. Our author has left untouched many of the best portions ; and, moreover, as the early period is much obscured by fables, he plainly tells his readers not to hope for true accounts till later times.

The author promises in the beginning of his work to give a history of all the eight principalities about which Tod has written, namely :—1, Mivár or Udayapur ; 2, Márvár or Jodhpur ; 3, Bikanír and Kisangar ; 4, Kotá ; 5, Bundí ; 6, Ambar or Jayapur ; 7, Jasalmír ; and 8, the desert tract extending to the Indus. In accordance with that promise, he begins the history of Mivár in the number under review.

Before proceeding farther, we would glance at some of the sources from which these accounts are taken. Among them are the genealogies of the Rájput princes by a class of Bráhmans called *Bhattás* ; the work of Jaychandra, king of Jayapúr ; and four manuscripts, namely, Khománras, Rájvilás, Rájratnákara, and Jayvilás. The occasional notes of Muhammadan historians, the oral traditions current amongst the Rájputs themselves, as well as what could be gleaned from inscriptions in the temples, are largely made use of. In fact, the author has furnished us with the valuable fruits of sixteen years' incessant labour.

The author in the present number, after some preliminary remarks on the origin of the various Rájput families (which is still a very questionable point), commences his history of the Ráuás from Kanaksen. The second chapter is taken up with the accounts, fabulous and real, of Guhá and Báppá ; but the accuracy with which the dates of birth and accession to the throne of Báppá have been attained is praiseworthy. Báppá according to Colonel Tod (and the translator agrees with him) was born in Samvat 769, and became king when 15 years old. From this time up to the 11th century, fifty-nine sovereigns ascended his throne. The author divides this portion of his history of Mivár into four epochs. The first commencing with Kanaksen, A.D. 144; the second with Síláditya and the destruction of Ballabhipur, A.D. 524; the third with the conquest of Chitor by Báppá, A.D. 728; and the fourth with the accession of Saktikumár. The third chapter begins with an account of the kings between Báppá and Samar Singha; and the rest is an interesting *résumé* of the early Muhammadan invasions of India.

We are glad to observe, from the publication of this and some other similar works, that a spirit of historical curiosity is growing in the minds of our Bengali scholars. The important points to be regarded in historical writing are, truth of matter, method, and clearness of expression; and never to be forgotten is the maxim—" *ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat historicus.*" The writer, we think, has followed these rules; and maintains a great amount of soberness, even when he might have been (as is the tendency of most Bengali writers of the day) carried away by the romantic fictions with which the history of the Rájputs has been interlarded. The manuscripts are well collated, and the facts judiciously selected; some notes are also added which will be useful to the reader. The style of the book is easy, but highly polished; it is as far removed from the pomposities of the Bengali novel, as from the ungraceful crudities of most of our school-books. In spite of all this there are some faults; but they bear a small proportion to its merits. We hope that the author will go on with his project; and should he be able to keep up throughout the same amount of energy that he has shown in this number, it will be highly creditable to him. We wish him all success.

Visvadarpana. Monthly: Part I, No. 7; Srávana. Calcutta: New School Book Press, 1279.

THE writer of the first article in the present number of this magazine censures the mode of education encouraged by the University, and followed in our schools at the present day;

and complains that the results are not so good as they ought to be. He divides his subject into three parts; corrections, changes, and adaptations. The corrections he wants to make are, to decrease the number of English schools; and to appropriate the money saved thereby to the establishment of vernacular schools. The writer enacts the part of Ephialtes, the dastard Greek who led the Persians around to the rear of Thermopylæ; he shows the enemies of Bengáli advancement how they can attack it in a mortal point. We are sure the inconsiderateness of this advice will be apparent if it be examined a little more closely; and at any rate no really patriotic Bengáli of education will agree with it. If, as the writer hints pretty clearly, it is his aim to see the students of vernacular schools turn out good Bengáli authors, the scheme he proposes will never answer his purpose. No one can write chaste Bengáli unless he has some knowledge of the Sanskrit; but perhaps he wants all his countrymen to write such Bengáli as he does himself. On the other hand, the number of books that exist at present in the language is very small. Any one with a moderate amount of labour can master them all within a short year or two. We believe there is some truth in the censures which he pronounces on the manner of selecting subjects for the minor scholarship examinations. On the third topic which he touches upon, it is unnecessary for us to say anything.

In the next article, the writer urges the necessity of granting pensions to the teachers and pandits of aided-schools. But where is the money to come from? It is not for the Government to supply the money; it has done its duty when it gives a grant-in-aid; so that the burden falls upon the managers of the schools, and they again are too poor to grant pensions who cannot sometimes afford to pay their teachers in full.

After reading so much folly in the first three articles, it is rather a relief to come to the fourth:—"On attractions;"—which is really very instructive. The translations of the *Adhyátma Rámáyana* and the *Mákandeya Purána* are of course continued.

We should like to know who taught the author of the papers in this magazine to write Bengáli. In the original articles his language is inaccurate and colloquial in the extreme; and in his translations the harsh and high-sounding Sanskrit words that he makes use of, are jarring to classical ears. Comparisons, says *Dogberry* in *Much Ado about Nothing*, are odorous. Had we more space than we can spare, we would have taken the trouble to compare an article of this magazine of scanty merits and high pretensions, with another from a number of the *Banga Darsana*, and show that our criticism is a just one. We are really at a loss to understand how it is that such flimsy

productions have maintained their ground so long, and that the intelligent natives of Bengal are willing to waste their valuable time (we doubt if many are doing so) on such parlous heaps of trash.

Hárisahar Patriká. A fortnightly magazine : Part II. No. 4 :
Jaistha. Calcutta : Columbian Press. 1279.

THIS magazine opens with a clever article on "The Musical Instruments of India." The various instruments, now in use are divided into two main classes—*svara jantra* * and the *tála jantra*, the first class is again sub-divided into three species, the *tankára*, *dhánuka*, and *bainava*. The author gives a description of all of them ; and has tried, where he could, to trace their origin in a really scientific manner. We wish the article had been longer. Passing over the second, which is merely a list of the contents of the *Padma Purána*, we come to that headed the "*Kumára Sambhavam*." Some part of the text of the eighth canto is given and a translation is also appended. We doubt whether this is the real text. The edition of the "*Kumára Sambhava—Utturakhundam*," published a few years ago by Professor Táránátha, seems to be the correct recension ; and the reasons which the Professor has brought forward in his preface to prove that the one generally read in Bengal is spurious, are fairly conclusive. Next comes some trashy blank verse—a part of a poem entitled "*Svaragubhransa Kávyá*." As far as we can judge of it from this number of the magazine, it seems an imitation or translation (whatever its author may chose to call it) of Milton's immortal poem ; unless it be a parody on a poem published two or three years ago by a native convert,—"*The Svarga bhrashta kávyá*"—a book as full of nonsense as this one. There is another piece of poetry—"The Love Mirage," which is rather better. The article "Outspoken Truth" is a disgrace to the magazine whose pages it sullies with its atrocious vulgarisms. It is an indecent lampoon on the character of some of the truly great men that have graced, or are gracing, Bengal with their unintermittent labours to mend the social, political, and moral depravity of their country. It only sets off in an unfavourable light the gross ill-breeding and boorish unmannerliness of the author. The last article, "A Wonderful Creature," promises to be a thoughtful one.

* Those that assist in any way the rise and fall of the voice of man come under this class ; whereas those that assist him in keeping the cadence proper to a peculiar style of song come under the second.

Bāngālā Bhāshā o Bāngālā Sāhitya Bishayaka prastāb. A discourse on the Bengāli Language and Literature ; with a brief account of the lives of the most famous Bengāli authors, together with short criticisms on their works. Part I. By Rāmagatī Nyāyaratna. Hugli. Budhodaya Press. Samvat. 1929.

THE thick veil that has for years shrouded the results of the intellectual culture of the Bengālis during the middle ages, is now in a way to be drawn aside, by a growing inclination to study the writings of the older authors, among our educated natives. Until very lately few of these gentlemen were aware of the fact that there existed in Bengal a literature worthy of the name and worth studying ; and for this reason many spent their time in reading the tawdry rhymes, trashy blank verse, and worthless novels, that are every day issuing from the native press. Mention to them the name of Kavikankan or Govindadās, and the picture of an uncultivated Bengāli of the old school immediately arose in their minds, and they perhaps recalled the ribaldries of the Minerva press novels ; but how little did they think that instead of hunting after poetry amidst the literature of foreign nations, they had but to turn to the literary history of their own country, and they would have found no cause to repent of their selection. Professor Rāmagatī's book is an argument in support of our thesis. It is certainly one of the most important books that has ever been published in Bengal. It is a comprehensive treatise, elaborately got up with the most unwearied research, embodying an amount of matter that we have not seen in a single volume for some time.

The book opens with an account of the origin of the Bengāli alphabet, which the author proves pretty conclusively to have been in use before the tenth century of the Christian era, and to be only a modified form of the Devanāgarī alphabet. The author then proceeds to the solution of the *vexata questio* :—What was the origin of the Bengāli language ? The wonderful similarity that exists among the roots, prefixes, affixes, &c., of the different languages of the Aryan stock, and the life-long labours of Bopp and Curtius, Grimm and Prescott, Burnouf and Max Müller, prove beyond doubt that the Bengāli was an offshoot of the original Indo-European language. Many have supposed that the Bengāli was *directly* an outcome of the Sanskrit ; but the exact resemblance which many of the current words in the former language bear to their corresponding ones in the Prākṛit, is a sufficient refutation of this surmise.

Exactly similar was the case in the rise of the Romance languages of Europe. It is said, that the Latin died in *giving birth* to these dialects ; but this assertion is false ; for the Latin in which Virgil wrote his poems was not the parent of the French or

Italian, but rather the Latin which was used in common speech by the masses at Rome. Just so, it was not the Sanskrit of Kálidása or Bhavabhūti from which the Bengálí took its rise; it was from the Prákrit, the language of the lower orders. "Dante," says Max Müller, "ascribed the first attempt at using the vulgar tongue of Italy for literary compositions to the silent influence of ladies who did not understand the Latin language. Now, this vulgar Italian, before it became the literary language of Italy, held very much the same position there, as the so-called Prákrit dialects in India; and these Prákrit dialects first assumed a literary position in the Sanskrit plays where female characters, both high and low, are introduced as speaking Prákrit, instead of the Sanskrit employed by kings, noblemen, and priests. Here then we have the language of women, or if not of women exclusively, at all events of women and domestic servants, gradually entering into the literary idiom, and in later times even supplanting it altogether; for it is from the Prákrit and not from the Sanskrit that the modern vernaculars of India branched off in course of time—from the domestic idiom of the mothers, sisters and servants at home." Sanskrit, says our author, was not the mother but the grand-mother. But this assertion again is disposed of by the laws of dialectic regeneration. We quote Max Müller again: "Almost all languages," he says, "divide themselves from the *first* into two great branches; one showing a more manly, the other a more feminine character; one richer in consonants, the other richer in vowels; one more tenacious of the original grammatical terminations, the other more inclined to slur these terminations, and to simplify grammar by the use of circumlocutions. Thus we have the Greek in its two dialects, the Æolic and the Ionic, with their sub-divisions the Doric and Attic; in German we find the High and Low German; in Celtic, the Gadhelic and Cymric; as in India the Sanskrit and Prákrit." So that to carry the similitude farther, Sanskrit is rather an aunt than a grand-mother. But we must notice two important processes which are discernible in the formation of an easy from a difficult language. These are *Samprasāraṇa* and *Biprakāśana*; and these two processes are clearly discernible in the formation of the Bengálí from the Sanskrit and Prákrit. Here a doubt arises; there are many words in the Bengálí which can be traced neither to the Sanskrit nor to the Prákrit, nor to the Arabic, nor to the Persian; how are they to be accounted for? This has led many of our philosophers to conclude that the language of the aborigines of the country was the basis to which the Sanskrit and Prákrit furnished materials for raising the superstructure of the language. However this may be, this is not the place to discuss the point.

We next come to the second chapter, where the Professor

commences his history of the Bengáli literature. "Language, though in itself not a living creature, has yet its origin in the heart, which is the principal part in the organisation of a sentient being; and inasmuch as it dwells for ever in the sense of speech, and is the chief moving power of a rational animal, it has also, like that of the body, its infancy, youth, and maturity." Following this similitude, he divides his history into three periods—the old, intermediate, and modern; but we choose to call them the primitive period, the period of model literature, and the regeneration period. The first extends from the earliest times to the birth of Chaitanya, A.D. 1485; the second from the time of Chaitanya to that immediately preceding Bhárat Chandra, A.D. 1752; and the third from that time to our own.

The first period is commemorated by the names of Vidyápati and Chandidás, who have left us very little of their works except some fragments which can be gleaned from the *Padávali*, *Padakalpataru*, &c.—religious works of the Vaishnaví sect. It is not certain when these Bengáli Chaucers lived; but the approximate date that can be assigned to them is the fourteenth century. Vidyápati's compositions are always deep though sweet; and though in some places he is unintelligible, still his sweet music always enchants the reader. We have seen a Bengáli book, the "*Purusha Parikshá*," which bears his name; but for some reasons we think with our author, that this is a translation by some modern scholar from the original Sanskrit in which he wrote. Chandidás was properly the Gower, if not the Chaucer of Bengáli literature. The same lively expression of natural feeling characterises both the English and the Bengáli poet. Here we may as well notice that these two native poets took the style and metre of Jayadeva for their model; and his "voluptuous mysticism" pervades all their writings.

As we mentioned before, the second period commences with the birth of Chaitanya. This period witnessed the *Kharchás* of Jivagosvámí, the *Chaitanya-Bhágavatu* of Brindávandás, the *Rámáyana* of Krittivás, the *Chandí* of Kavikankan, the hymns of Rámesvara and Rámprasád and the *Vidyásundara* of Kaviranján. This was the period when the horrible and obscene rites of Bhavánism on the one hand, and the speculative doctrines of Vedantism on the other, gave way to the more practical religion preached by Chaitanya, which the people had for a long time been yearning after, and for which their minds had been in a manner prepared. The credit of beginning to write books in Bengáli on a large scale, is due to the efforts of the Vaishnavas; and it was in imitation of these enthusiasts that Kavikankan and Krittivás, Govindadás and Kásirám produced their immortal poems. It is curious to observe that in Bengal too, as in Europe during the

sixteenth century, literature began to flourish as the handmaid of a religious revolution.

Krittivás wrote his *Rámáyana* about the year 1538 A.D. Nyáyaratna tries to show that Krittivás was ignorant of Sanskrit, which appears highly probable; the principal reason adduced in support of this thesis is, that while professing to give a Bengáli version of Válmiki's poem, he has given us almost a different thing. He was a highly imaginative and sensitive poet.

Kavikankan was by far the greatest of the Bengáli poets of this period. His *Chandí* occupies the same place amongst Bengáli epics, as Milton's *Comus* among English dramas. It is essentially a pastoral. It opens with prayers to Ganesa, Sarasvatí, Lakshmi, Chaitanya and Ráma; and then begins properly the poem, in which there are two stories. Without wearying our readers with an account of them, with which many of them are already well acquainted, we proceed to characterize the poetry of Kavikankan. He is at times more pathetic and soft than any other Bengáli author whose works we know. He loves to depict in words which besit tender thoughts, the sorrows of a love-lorn damsel, the forests in spring, a moon-lit bank, or a beautiful landscape. The Apsarás of heaven and the nymphs of the wood are his favourite companions. Purling streams and flowery slopes; the sweet song of the Kokila, and the hum of the bee; sylvan solitude, and breeze laden with fragrance, are to him more than delights. There is a calm transparency and a tender beauty in his narrative, which fascinate every reader, and which are seldom, if ever, interrupted. His extensive acquaintance with human nature places him in the same niche with Sir Walter Scott. Like Homer, he too has given means of sustenance to thousands of the natives of this country. It is scarcely too much to say that in nice discrimination of characters he, of all Bengáli poets, has most nearly approached Shakspeare. Never in his pictures, has he mixed the shade of one character with that of another. His Kálketu and Bharudatta, Dhanapati and Srímanta, Fullará and Lahaná, Khullará and Durbalá are all different personages. He was poor; and his genius was richly displayed in his description of the poverty of Fullará. But Kavikankan was not at the same time a faultless poet. In the conduct of his piece there are gross absurdities which a poet of less originality would not dare commit. Professor Rámagati has pointed out many of these, and they are too palpable to need any repetition here. His language is not so easy as that of Krittivás; and the broad provincialisms which he occasionally makes use of are either wholly obsolete or are used only in some obscure corner of Midnapur. His exact age has been a disputed point; but the scholarly ingenuity with which our author has made this out, reflects not a small amount of credit on

him. He shows that the poem was written some time between the years 1573 and 1603 A.D.

Kásirámdás was another luminary of this period. The language which he has used in his Bengálí version of the Mahábhárata is much more polished and easier than the *Chandi* of Kavikank-an;* and it was in his poem that we see the Bengálí *payára* reach its final perfection. His date is approximately fixed at about 1668 A.D. Whatever may be said against Krittivása's knowledge of the Sanskrit, Kásirám's language has too much of Sanskrit words and idioms in it to allow of the supposition that he was unacquainted with the classical tongue of his country. To the honour of these poets be it observed, that it was the recitation of Krittivás and Kásirám that infused some amount of knowledge, however small, into the minds of the lower orders of Bengal. The poor shopkeeper and the "swinked hedger," even now beguile the tediousness of their leisure moments by the pleasure they derive from the perusal of these poets; and the generality of their countrymen, even those that have some pretensions to some sort of education, could never have had access to the rich stores of philosophical and religious thoughts of their Aryan forefathers, much of which is embodied in the works of Válmíki and Vyása, had it not been for these two.

The other poets of this age are Rámesvara, Rámprasád and Kaviránjan; of whom the second is known to many on account of the melodious songs he has left us. The tunefulness of these songs is so peculiar and so thoroughly Bengálí, that it has won for him a lasting renown; and there is scarcely a single native who is not familiar with some of them.

With these names ends this period. There were of course others; but they are perhaps too insignificant to merit any notice; or perhaps none of their works are to be found, and therefore our author has left them out. But the state of a language in a certain period is best illustrated by the prose literature of a nation, and during the four hundred years which we have gone through in review, we have found scarcely a single book written in prose.† Professor Rámagati thinks that the *Rájávali* (a list of the kings) of Tripurá and the *Pratápáñitya Charita* by Rám Rám Basu, were written during this period. We have seen the latter work, but we do not think that the style in which it is written, or the language, can bear so early a date; it is probably the production of the modern period.

* This was merely the *title* of the poet, his real name being Mukunda-rám.

† Of course we except the "Pur-

usha Parikshá" from our remark; but even that we think belongs to a later period.

Here ends the first part of Professor Rámagati's valuable work. With all its merits the book is not faultless. Govindadás,* certainly one of the higher order of the Bengálí poets, is passed over without any more comments on his writings, than that he used more Hindi words in his poems than any other author of his time. There are other omissions, but our notice has already become too long. We may at some future time dwell more in detail on them, after the second part is out ; and these faults again are so insignificant that we exclaim with the poet —

একো হিদোষো শুন সঙ্গিপাতে

নিমজ্জতীন্দোঃ কিরনে ধিবাক্ : ॥

The style in which this book is written has much to recommend it. It is elegant, pure, and unaffected. The criticisms on the authors noticed are in most cases just and scholarly ; and the accuracy with which the writer has fixed the dates of several of them, would do honour to any European scholar. The book will possess the charm of instructive novelty for most native readers, even the most highly educated ; and schoolboys will read it with alacrity, because knowledge is given to them in an acceptable form, and not in that of a task. The varied learning and the wonderful research of the Professor, to which this book is an indisputable evidence, will help it to maintain its place among the studies of the educated youths of this country for years to come ; and we have no doubt that his example will soon be followed up by many who have made literary history one of their chief pursuits.

Sámataika Trikonamik—(Anglice) Plane Trigonometry. Part I. With the use of Logarithms. By Brahma Mohan Mallik. Calcutta : Hitaishini Press, 1279.

WITH the utmost pleasure we hail this the first appearance of a treatise on Trigonometry in Bengal ; and the more so as it comes from the hands of one of the ablest mathematicians among the Bengális. Bábu Brahma Mohan's *Euclid* won for him golden opinions from all competent judges ; and we believe his reputation will be increased by this edition of a *Trigonometry* in an elementary school-book form. He says in his preface : " In

* A recent author says that Govindadás, as appears from the language of his poems, was a contemporary of Vidyapati, and therefore lived before Chaitanya ; but this assertion is disposed of by a line which we quote from one of his poems :

পেখলু গৌরচন্দ্র নটয়াজ ।

জন্ম হেম ধরাধর উল্ল কিল্পে নবদ্বীপ মার্জ ॥

the present treatise I have closely followed the plan of English authors, and wherever possible, adopted significant Bengali terms corresponding nearly in sound to the English names, for the Trigonometrical *Ratios*. Similarly, I have represented the constant ratio of the circumference of a circle to its diameter by the *Devanāgrī* letter π , resembling the Greek letter π in form and exactly in sound. *Devanāgrī* characters have also been used to represent angles referring to the circular measure." The book comprises all the preliminary propositions that are required for the solution of triangles; and a chapter on Logarithms and Logarithmic series is also added. The several parts of the book are nicely arranged, the definitions and requisite explanations given in the clearest manner; and as a considerable number of examples are appended at the end of each chapter, we doubt not that it will prove a very successful elementary work for educational purposes.

The small interval of time that has been allowed between the publication of the *Euclid* and the book before us, leads us to hope that our author will undertake the preparation of the text-books for the other and more important branches of mathematics, and thereby obtain the heart-felt thanks of his countrymen for placing the sciences of the West before them in an acceptable form.

It is worthy of remark too (though this point has been discussed more than once in the pages of this Review), that the number of Sanskrit words made use of in this work, to express the technicalities of Trigonometry, shows clearly the poverty of the Bengali language in scientific terms. Those who oppose the retention and culture of the Sanskrit in our schools and colleges, if they would spare a little of their leisure to glance at this book, will certainly find that the cultivation of what is called the "Vernacular," cannot supply them with words sufficient to write a treatise on any science. Almost all the scientific terms in English are taken either from the Greek or the Latin. Now, it is evident, that these terms would never have been obtained, nor could they have been understood, had it not been for the study of these two classical languages by the scholars of Europe. Sanskrit should undoubtedly hold the same place in Indian studies that Greek and Latin have held in those of the West.

Kumdra Sambhava. A poem by Kālidāsa. Translated into Bengali verse by Rangalāl Bandopādhyāya. Serampore: Alfred Press, 1279.

THE author of the *Padmīnī Upākhyān* now appears before us in a new light—that of a translator. He has long since been known to us as a writer of high literary culture and good

taste ; and, as a poet, the sweetness of his diction and the tenderness of his feelings, as well as the high and animated strain to which he rises in describing the fiery Rájputs when they bleed for their gods and their homes, are familiar to every reader of Bengali poetry. Kálidása originally wrote his *Kumára Sambhavam* in seventeen cantos, of which the first seven only are generally read by his countrymen. The eighth canto has some obscene *slokas* ; and Siva and Umá, two deities whom the Hindus look upon as the parents of this universe, are made the subjects of this extremely objectionable description. It is greatly to the credit of the good taste of the Hindús, that they have left the remaining ten cantos of this poem, totally out of the curriculum of their studies. Babu Rangalál has proved a worthy representative of his ancestors in omitting these portions of the eighth canto, of which he has given only the "*Description of the Evening*." This, according to the unanimous verdict of critics, is the most beautiful piece in the whole poem, and our author has done well in appending it ; and here too, ends his work.

To those natives who are unacquainted with their national classic, the only means open of knowing the manners and customs of their ancestors during the Augustan age of Sanskrit literature, is to read the translations of the masterpieces of that period. This, as he says in his preface, is the only motive which incited our author to undertake this arduous task. Dryden has said somewhere, that to translate a poem in a foreign language, and that in verse, requires in the translator not only a knowledge of good words and an elegant style, with a command over his own mother tongue, but also a mastery over that of the original author. Not only is it requisite for him to render the author's thoughts in pleasing numbers and varied metre, to enter into his feelings and sympathise with him ; but also that he be a *poet himself*. This is the secret of Dryden's success as well as of Pope's. Babu Rangalál evidently seems to have discovered this ; he shows all, or almost all, these qualifications in this book. His language is in general sweet, and his versification pleasing. One of the chief peculiarities of Kálidása was, that he could compress a comparatively long train of thoughts within a single stanza. Our author has been somewhat unfortunate in his attempt to imitate this extraordinary terseness of the Sanskrit poets. In some places his language has, on this account, become obscure, and at others, his diction is so hard, that when compared with the sweetness of the original, it becomes, to use Kálidása's own simile.

শ্রোতৃবিত্ত্রো নিব ভাষমান ।

Another fault,—and certainly a very grave one according to Sanskrit rhetoricians,—which we found in going through the work

is the *distant connection* (দূরত্ব) of words; but instances of this we are happy to assert, are few. On the whole, the book is very well written; and we earnestly wish that it may receive its due applause from the literary circles of Bengal.

2. GENERAL LITERATURE.

A Modern Version of Milton's Areopagitica: with Notes, Appendix, and Tables. By S. Lobb, M. A.—Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1872.

MR. LOBB'S little volume would, we think, compare most favourably, both as regards matter and printing, with many of our best known editions of annotated ancient classics. Any one who has endeavoured to get up Milton's prose with the same thoroughness and in the same spirit as he read Demosthenes or Tacitus at College, will hail the scholarly commentary and appendices of this book, as supplying a vast need to students of our great English classic. Be he Englishman or Bengali, there is no one, we imagine, who will not be able to learn much from the elaborate notes, illustrations and tables which form the great body of the work; and the concise summary and the divisions of the argument in the margin, give a most clear and comprehensive view of the treatise as a whole.

The style of Milton's prose, more Latin than English and therefore peculiarly difficult to those who have never read the ancient classics, perhaps makes a paraphrase such as Mr. Lobb's "*Modern Version*" seem a necessity in such a school-book here in India; but, knowing how ready native students are to think every thing of paraphrase and comment, and nothing of the original text, we regret that Mr. Lobb did not leave this business of translation to the teacher in the class-room, and find a place in his book for the actual words of Milton. As it is we have corrections and additions, Preface, Introduction, Summary, Modern Version, Footnotes, Appendix, Supplementary notes, Addendum to note E, and finally three Tables occupying by themselves nearly 60 pages—while the *ipsissima verba* of the great Master find room only by scraps in corners. Bengali students, for whose immediate use the work was professedly compiled, will surely be apt, amid this labyrinth of explanatory matter, to lose sight of that which should be their real study, Milton's own words: to Englishmen the Modern Version would appear less sacrilegious if alongside of or below it Mr. Lobb had given us the real thing. This could easily be managed in another edition by a little rearrangement: the footnotes would lose nothing by being joined to their brethren called 'Supple-

mentary' and 'Addenda'; the book would then look less like a mere *crib*; and a certain want of solidarity in the whole, which strikes one at first reading, would be obviated.

But of the subject matter of the work there cannot be two opinions. The 'Version' is spirited but plain; the verbal criticisms are accurate; and the exhaustive mass of illustration and reference leaves little to be looked for elsewhere. But Mr. Lobb has by no means confined himself to bare paraphrase and commentary: he has, we think, fully succeeded in giving us a picture of one phase of the political life of our nation, at that most noble era of the deadly fight between a licensed and licensing hierarchy and Civil Right; when England amid the birth throes of Freedom and Truth,—“casting off the old skin of corruption to outlive these pangs and wax young again”—at last took her own high place, the cynosure of a wondering world, and broadcast throughout priest-ridden Europe began “disseminating the blessings of civilization and freedom among cities and kingdoms and nations.” Mr. Lobb's object being, we take it, to give such a picture, he has naturally gone in more for historical commentary than for the Elenchs of Criticism. Table II, which contains a life of Milton on an original plan, his personal history being printed in column parallel to that of England, is a most useful part of the work.

We are glad that our author has not quite succeeded in his expressed endeavour to sink his own personality: it is to that personality we owe the most striking part of the book, the Introduction. Here we have Mr. Lobb in his most enthusiastic vein upon a subject about which there is no doubting his earnestness, even if we disagree with his somewhat advanced conclusions. Starting from an enumeration of the three great epochs which mark the successive stages in the development of the West, each with an epic of its own, he goes on to prophesy how in after times Milton ‘shall come again’—as Arthur the blameless king is, according to our Laureate, again to come. The overthrow of a priest caste founded upon apostolic succession involves that of an hereditary royalty founded upon divine right: and our new poet is to raise the pæan over the breaking fetters of a licensed State church, over the crumbling ruins of a mouldered constitutionalism: he is to celebrate in fit prose and verse the enthronement of Liberty and Fraternity: he is to prepare the way and make straight the paths for the advent of the great Deity—Humanity. When this millenium fully comes, Mr. Lobb thinks it will have its own epic—but till then he can give us little hope of aught but “tenebrous versifiers.”

However, the work is full enough of real information for those whose ears are deaf to these Positive theories;—and if some such rearrangement and consolidation as we have suggested could be

brought about, we see no reason why, in reverse of the usual process, India should not send to England this volume, to become one of the standard editions of modern classics at our public schools.

The Indian Antiquary: A Journal of Oriental Research in Archaeology, History, Literature, Languages, Philosophy, Religion, Folklore, &c., &c. Edited by Jas. Burgess, M.R.A.S., F.R.G.S. Bombay, 1872.

WE regret that we have not space in the present number for more than a passing notice of the progress made by this admirable archaeological journal; in a future number we hope to consider more at length its more valuable features, and to draw the attention of our readers to some of the striking and novel information that has at times been put forth by Mr. Burgess and his able staff of contributors. Continuously and energetically supported by some of the best-known antiquarians in India—we notice that amongst the regular writers are Mr. Beames and Mr. Growse of the Bengal Civil Service, with Dr. Leitner, Dr. Bühler, and Professor Blochmann of the Education Department, and many others—the *Indian Antiquary* could hardly fail of being a literary success; and we are glad to see that the later numbers are fully equal to the earlier, both in scientific value and in general interest.

In the December number, we get an article from Mr. Beames on “a copper-plate grant from Balasore” of the date 1483 A.D., with a *facsimile*. Dr. Hœrle of Benares follows with an interesting paper on a curious philological point. *The Lady and the Dove* is a pleasing translation of “a Bengali song by a Hindu Female,” contributed by Dr. Murray Mitchell. One of the most interesting things that we have seen for a long time is a *facsimile* (the writing only being translated or transcribed in Roman characters) of a Persian map of the world; which is of such an amusing nature, and so thoroughly characteristic of a Muhammadan writer, as in itself to relieve the number from any imputation of the dryness commonly ascribed to archaeological magazines. In this map, the European states are included within a few small tracts on the confines of the Universe, under the general names “Farang” and “Rûs”; whilst important places like Sultānpur and Musjid Nasurali, and districts like Upper and Lower Bangash, occupy large spaces in the centre. It will doubtless interest geographers to know that on the southern frontier of China is the “Place of the Children of the Lord Moses, where the Lord Muhammad so-journed during the night of his ascension;” and that on the north of China is the “Place of Gog and Magog closed by Alexander. Their stature is one hundred cubits. Each increases till one thousand. When he dies they eat him.”

List of Errata in the Article on Hindu Castes, in the last No. of the
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	PAGE.	LINE
For "Savaiya" read "Suraiya"	384	20
" "never marry within" read "never marry except within"	387	2
" "aboriginal to a certain extent, converted, &c." read "aboriginal, to a certain extent converted, &c."...	388	32
" "Bhunias" read "Bhunjas"	388	39
" "Hurrpur" read "Mirzapur"	389	28
" "Kurmi" read "Koiri"	389	30
" "Rasgar" read "Raugar"	389	34
" "Gowallas" read "Goallas" (and elsewhere) ...	389	35
" "Gaveis" read "Gareris"	389	38
" "Kamdu" read "Kandu"	390	6
" "Bathare" read "Batham"	390	10
" "Khatitis" read "Khatiks"	390	43

THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

NO. CXII.

ART. I.—A LAND POLICY FOR NORTHERN INDIA.

IT is in no spirit of presumption, but with an earnest desire for the welfare of a people among whom it is my lot to labour, that I say a policy is wanted, grievously wanted, in India at the present time. The nature and conditions of my employment bring me into continual and close contact with the people, and enable me more or less to catch their tone of thought. The conviction has forced itself on me that our Government is no longer the same to them that it was. A feeling of distrust that may easily warm into active dislike is growing up. An idea that the Government is hard, leans on its own power and strength, and no longer seeks to adapt its measures to the wishes or even the good of the people is beginning to prevail.

That this feeling seldom takes the form of open utterance is surely no matter for surprise, and no argument against its existence. I am prepared to hear its reality denied, and my opinion attributed to some change in my own mind, or to a freak of the imagination. But the instinct which informs the mind of the unexpressed feelings, and the tone or disposition of those brought into contact with it, is one that I can generally trust, and I do not think it has deceived me in this particular instance. Nor has the open expression of discontent been entirely wanting. The few natives who know me sufficiently well to dare to speak freely, have repeatedly declared their wonder at the measures of the Government in the last few years. Not long ago an old zemindar, who served us loyally in 1857, but seldom seeks an interview with any Englishman, said to me,—“We used to say the British Government was the best in India, we shall say so no longer.” The cultivators for whom the great Rent Act was passed, to whom we have given rights of occupancy and all the rest of it, have openly expressed to me their disgust at the way we have abandoned them to the zemindar. ‘Your settlement is no settlement for us,’ they say, and it is the truth. Which of the duties of the Government has been more zealously discharged than that of directing education? Yet it is notorious that discontent on this point prevails, certainly

among one very numerous class of our subjects. Perhaps no class in any country in the world has more reason to be grateful to its Government than the mercantile and trading classes of this country. Yet we have hit upon so distasteful a method of compelling them to contribute to the revenues, that it is more than doubtful whether even they are with us.

That the British Government of India is intrinsically bad, I would be the last person to admit. I am not of those who, in a spirit of somewhat false humility, extol the perfections of native rule at the cost of our own. There can be to my mind no comparison between the two systems—if indeed a Native Government can be called a system at all, except a system of oppression. But, unfortunately for us, that generation which had experience of both kinds of administration is rapidly passing away even in the provinces most lately brought under British sway. A real Native Government, moreover, has become an extinct species, a very Dodo in politics. All the Native States, even those in which least interference has been exercised, are more or less civilised by our example. Nothing compels a man to keep his house in order so much as the presence of a spruce neighbour on his right hand and on his left. Side by side with the order, protection and honesty of British rule, even the descendants of marauders have to adopt a comparatively constitutional form of government. It therefore does not do to say that the people must like our Government because it is so much better than any they ever had before. They are rapidly forgetting what manner of thing their former Government was. Instead of using that potent engine we have in our hands—the schools of the country—to keep up the remembrance of ancient misrule, and enable them to appreciate their present state—we take care to teach the great mass of the population nothing but the praises of Akbar. It is a common supposition, at any rate in the village schools of the North-West, that British rule dates from 1857, and began with the income-tax. And even to the educated and enlightened native as to all men, it is the ills, however small, that now gall him, and not the calamities that have passed, that are most impressive, and most burdensome.

I am the last person to suggest that our subjects are ready or inclined to rise against us. Even if their discontent were much greater than it is, and their determination to free themselves had assumed any tangible form, they are quite powerless in our grasp. A rude, ignorant, uneducated mass without leaders, without arms, without money, and with no cohesion among themselves, what could they do? I have no desire to resort to the argument of terror, a mean argument at the best even where it is well founded. But my object is to point out that feelings of discontent are in

existence, that the people instead of being drawn closer to our government and acquiring year by year a better appreciation of our motives, are drifting further away from us. Their suspicions—and no people are more prone to suspicion—are on the increase. Such a state of things, if devoid of actual danger, is at any rate undesirable. It will lead, if not checked, to worse evils; and among the agrarian classes will most probably develop into chronic discontent, and sap the prosperity of the country. To avert this danger before it is too late, to bring the people to a better understanding of us and our measures, something more is wanting than the mere discharge of the ordinary functions of Government, however untiring and conscientious. Something more is needed than a steady progression in the old ways. Depend upon it if those ways were altogether right, the planes in which the governed and the governors move would approach and not diverge. Therefore I say that a policy is wanted—grievously wanted in India at this time. In pointing out the direction that this policy ought to take, most of my remarks will apply to the land, and the classes connected with it. The greatest questions in India are naturally concerned with the land. The population is almost entirely agricultural. The trade is agricultural. The backbone of the revenue is agriculture. It is unavoidable, therefore, that I should speak more of the land than anything else; and the primary object of this paper is to advocate a reconstructive policy regarding the land—a policy that shall restore, in this respect and to some degree, the ancient constitution of the country. My experience being derived entirely from the North-West, I wish to make no assertions whatever concerning other parts of the country. But a great deal of what I am going to say will apply, I believe, with nearly equal force to Bengal, the Punjab, and Bombay; and perhaps to the Madras Presidency also.

It might be thought at first sight, that no class ought to be more attached to our rule than the landowners. Without going into the controversy as to the original nature of their rights, it is certain that they owe their present position chiefly to the British Government. Whatever they were originally, whether owners of the land or mere middlemen, their tenure was very uncertain, their profits very limited and precarious, dependent on the will and caprice of a despot. The proclamations that inaugurated the British Government recognised and confirmed their property in the soil, nor have we ever gone back from our word in that matter. Since that time the security of their titles has been unquestioned.

Again, while under the Native Governments a comparatively small allowance for their maintenance was all that was left to the zemindars, we have relinquished half the rental to them; and, by fixing the revenue for long periods, have made them sole masters of the profits accruing from the increased value of land

during the currency of their leases. It might be well thought that a class for whom so much has been done must be discontented from mere vice, if indeed it is discontented.

But, unfortunately, the change from uncertainty to security, and from rackrenting to generosity, was not the only novelty introduced by us. Hand in hand with these undoubted benefits, came another innovation that has gone far in the eyes of the people to nullify all that they have gained. I refer to the forced sale of land for debt or arrears of revenue. Some time ago I was employed in part of the Meerut district that belonged to the territory of the Begum Sombre, and had so recently been absorbed in the British territory that many of the zemindars could compare the Native and the English revenue systems from their own experience. The revenue exacted by the Begum was nearly double that taken by us. Her revenue rates were, in fact, the full rent rates : and the zemindar's profit was confined to whatever he could make out of his own farm, together with any small drawback or maintenance money allowed to him by the Begum. I have often contrasted to the zemindars their past and present condition, and urged upon them the advantages we had given them. Their enthusiasm, however, was never very great. They admitted the moderation of our assessment, but compared the rigorous machine-like severity with which we collect it with the lax and capricious methods of the native administration. If the Begum did exact more, they would say, she always made allowance for bad seasons. You must be paid whatever happens. Besides, they always went on to add, we ran no risk of losing our land under the Begum, while now we are always in fear of seeing it put up to auction. The Collector will sell it if we fall into arrears ; and if we borrow money to pay the arrears, the banya will sell it.

Their argument in fact was this, that a heavy assessment without danger of losing their land by auction sale is better than a light assessment in which this danger is always present, like a skeleton at a feast. Their opinion is, I think, very commonly shared by the native landowners. Nor is it without very solid foundation. The history of the earlier years of the British rule especially justifies them in entertaining it. An assessment that was certainly not immoderate, if compared to those that preceded it under Native Governments, was so worked as to lead to something like a revolution of society. In those days, to the evils incidental to our rigid system of collection were superadded the ignorance of our officers, and the fraud and chicanery of the Bengali officials and others, who followed our standard, as the vultures follow in the wake of an army. Estates were acquired as well by auction sale as by every species of fraud. Their owners were reduced to the condition of tenants-

at-will. They were ground down and trampled on by the men, often our own officials, who got possession of the land. And their cry was so loud, and the evil so gigantic, that even English law and English prejudice gave way. A Special Commission was appointed to remedy the injustice that was done. The Commission sat. But it did very little more. The evil so far from being stayed has gone on waxing in strength year by year.

The man through whose instrumentality the Special Commission was appointed, and who laboured more than any one else to have the injustice that had been done remedied, was Mr. Robertson, then Judge and Magistrate of Cawnpore, and afterwards Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West. In a letter to the Chief Secretary to the Government, dated September 9th, 1820, he has so well described the evils inseparable from the transfer of the land from the old proprietors, that although his remarks were made with immediate reference to the acquisition of estates by fraud, they are well worth quoting, and are as pertinent now as they were fifty years ago.

After explaining how the real profits and subsistence of the old proprietary bodies was their seer land, and how there existed in almost every village, in addition to those whom alone we with our English ideas recognised as proprietors, various grades and classes having a beneficial interest in the soil, he goes on to show the effect of handing over a village to a landlord of the new English stamp.

"Supposing, however, the village to come into the hands of a Dewau, Nazir, Tehsildar or any other description of person regarding himself as the landlord, according to our European notion of landed property, what a revolution must ensue.

"The new landlord, to obtain his allowance of 13 per cent. in full must require rent for the seer lands, which, as I have shown, had hitherto been subject to merely a nominal and imperceptible assessment.

"But these lands had been distributed among the nearer relations of the village chief; or, in other words, had been applied by him not only to his own support, but to the sacred duty, as they esteem it, of maintaining his more immediate family connexions. According to the numerical strength of the family, the prevailing local custom, or the extent and capacity of the land, there may have been ten, twenty, or fifty high-spirited Rajpoots who thence, for themselves, their wives and children, derive a subsistence which were it subject to assessment the land can never yield.

"Stripped then of that which had supported their progenitors for centuries, and degraded to the rank of common cultivators, what is left for them but to wander abroad in search of a liveli-

hood which they know not where to seek, or to remain at home exposed to hourly mortification, and doomed to pine in distress where their forefathers, constituting the yeomanry of the country, had lived in independence and comfort."

Mr. Robertson goes on to show that, while such was the result of our innovations to the people, to the Government it was almost worse. The courts were crowded with suitors vainly praying for redress. The country was rife with crime of all kinds. And while in one pergunnah in Cawnpore which had by a fortunate combination of circumstances escaped this revolution, crime was rare, and no village police or chowkedars existed, in another that had passed almost entirely into the hands of one of our officials, thefts were numerous and a large body of village police had to be entertained.

If I had space, I would quote more from Mr. Robertson's letter. It is a document that ought to be published, and will be perhaps, now that some attention is paid to our old records. But I have given enough for my purpose. His description of the state of the ousted proprietors is accurate and truthful. And there is no need to alter a line of it to make it applicable to the state of things now existing and that has existed, ever since he wrote.

Is it then to be wondered at, if the brightness of our gifts, security of title, and a moderate assessment, has been somewhat dulled in the people's eyes by the shadow of these dangers? They have seen a new class springing up under our rule, and engulfing all the oldest and most honoured families in the land. Whatever may be said regarding our creation of landlords, or occupancy rights, of this there can be no doubt, that the class of ex-proprietors is our own work, the offspring of our laws. The men who have lost their ancestral lands by auction sale cannot look back beyond the origin of British rule. Few will deny that in any country the existence of a large class of men who were once owners of the land they now cultivate, and who still consider themselves the rightful owners, is a source of political weakness to the Government. How much more so when that class is daily on the increase, and when the conditions of the Government are such as they are in India. Each old family, as it sees its neighbour fall, and his place occupied by some grasping usurer, trembles for itself. It is very easy to preach and tell them it is their own fault if they fall into the pit. The habits and traditions of generations cannot be shaken off. Money will be borrowed, and estates mortgaged. Everything is on the side of the usurer, and everything against the rude Brahmin, Rajpoot, or Mussulman. The rate of interest remains much the same, while the power of recovering the debt is increased by all the strength of our Government. In

many districts the trader and money-lender have already taken the place of the old land-owning classes. In Cawnpore, for instance, out of 2,311 villages, Mr. Halsey tells us 69 per cent. have been transferred, besides a large number of portions of villages. In others the change is merely a question of time. To show the speed at which it is progressing, it may be mentioned that in one sub-division of Etawah, a money-lender who had only a small share of one village thirty years ago, is now master of forty entire villages and has shares in as many more. And to whatever part of the country we turn, much the same story meets us. From the Punjab, from Bombay, from Central India, everywhere the ancient owners of the soil are giving place to the trader and the usurer. Speaking of Bombay, Justice Melvill of the High Court says in a judgment recently delivered :—

“ I am strongly disposed to agree with the Calcutta Judges as to the impolicy of allowing sales by mortgages in the Mofussil. The mass of mortgages consists of mortgages of ancestral fields, made by ignorant cultivators to greedy and unscrupulous money-lenders. The great object of the money-lender is to get the land into his own hands, and when he has succeeded, he is the worst possible landlord, spending nothing on the improvement of his estate, and rack-renting the unfortunate ryot, whose proprietary rights have passed from him, but who is willing to slave for the usurer rather than abandon the field of his fathers. When we stand between two classes such as these, it is the borrower, and not the lender, whom we should protect. Any measure which tends to the general transfer of proprietary rights in land from the cultivating to the money-lending classes, should, in my opinion, be viewed with the greatest jealousy.”

A recent issue of the *Indian Observer* brought to notice a case in the Saugor district, in which the estate of an old Rajpoot Chief, numbering nearly one hundred villages and lightly assessed, was advertised for sale on account of a debt amounting to less than one year's purchase of the revenue payable to Government.

In the Punjab the evil has been held in check for a long time by the action of the Executive Government. Sales of land for debt were legal, but the sanction of Government or the Judicial Commissioner was necessary in each case, and was seldom or never given. When the High Court was established, this function of sanctioning sales was made over to it. What the action of the Court has been is not known to me. But we know what may be expected of any High Court in a matter of this kind. Their sanction is not legally required to the sale of land in execution of a decree, and they will probably, and perhaps rightly, decline to have anything to say to it. Such a matter in such a country as the Punjab should hardly be left to be dealt with in so very tortuous a way. If land ought not to be sold for debt, surely the best way of arriving at the desired end is by direct legislation.

It is hardly statesmanlike to leave it to the caprice of the Judges.

In the Jhansie and Nerbudda territories sale of land for debt was until very recently unknown. The Central Provinces have however adopted this, as some think, necessary part of a civilised jurisprudence. To debts contracted on merely personal security, and carrying an interest proportionately high, has been given the security of the landed property of the debtors. The result cannot be doubtful.

The unfairness and hardship of allowing debts contracted under a former state of things to be recovered by sale of the debtor's land is so well illustrated by what has occurred in Jhansie, that I shall venture to put it at some length before the reader. From the description of what has occurred and is occurring in that province, it may be understood how the introduction of the same law worked in the older provinces in the earlier years of our rule. And any one who possesses even to a feeble degree the capacity of putting himself in the place of others, will have no difficulty in understanding the feelings of the victims of the law. I quote the following paragraphs from the Report of the Settlement Officer of Jhansie.

444.—“ The majority of estates, and shares in estates, however, which have been alienated, and are now held by mortgagees, or by managers appointed by the Civil Court, were alienated on bonds executed, or on decrees given, on account of the debts incurred by the ancestors of the present proprietors, during the time of the Mahratta rule. But these alienations bear but a small proportion to the bonds and mortgage deeds held by the Marwarees, and other money-lenders in the district. Until quite lately, landed property has had no real value. What rights did exist were so little respected ; the tenure of landed property was so insecure ; and the demand made by the Native Governments was so excessive, that the money-lenders did not care to obtain possession of the estates of their debtors. They kept the names of the latter in their books, allowing the original loans to increase year by year, by the addition of interest and compound interest, and by renewing the bonds from time to time. In this way sums which were originally insignificant have swollen into enormous amounts ; and now the money-lenders, seeing that a settlement has been made on liberal terms, and that property is secure, are eager to get the estates of their debtors into their own hands.

445.—“ In pergunnah Mote especially, the landholders are indebted to the Marwarees and other money-lenders. In some instances, it would perhaps be the best thing that could happen, that the estates should be transferred to the money-lenders. They are capitalists, and being shrewd and intelligent, they probably would

expend money on the improvement of the estates ; whereas the proprietors are improvident and extravagant, and would, under any circumstances, always be in debt, and would mismanage their affairs. But, as a rule, the zemindars are industrious and careful ; and it would be a great hardship to them, as well as most impolitic, to allow their estates to pass into the possession of the money-lenders, in payment of debts which were incurred long ago, under peculiar circumstances, by their ancestors, and which now, owing to interest and compound interest, amount to sums which they cannot possibly pay. It should be the duty of the Courts and of the district authorities to examine most closely the accounts of these money-lenders, to strike off all illegal interest, and to make every effort possible to prevent the transfer of landed property ; to bring about a fair settlement of accounts ; and to provide for the payment of whatever may be really due by instalments, or by any other arrangement which might be agreed upon."

During the very short period that had elapsed since Jhansie had become a part of British territory, it was found at the time the Settlement Officer wrote, that out of 637 villages, 50 had been lost to their original owners. Besides these, 83 portions of villages had been transferred. Altogether it was found that 12 per cent. of the entire district had changed hands ; although, owing partly to the exertions of the local officers and partly to the ignorance of the people of the change in the law, sales in actual execution of debt had hitherto been avoided. Two years ago, however, auction sales began, and unless something is done to stop them they will no doubt, under the circumstances of the province as above described, increase with great rapidity.

In 1871 the Commissioner of the Division writes to the Revenue Board concerning this matter, as follows. After remarking on the legality of the sales in one of the districts which had been questioned, he goes on to say :—

44.—" There is another aspect of the case that should be considered, namely, the political one. It embraces the question "of sale of landed property in execution of decree, not only "in Jalome, but throughout the division. It is too late to "question the expediency of the extension of Act VIII. of 1859 "to Jhansie, and the enactment of Act XVIII. of 1867 ; but "I may be permitted to say that I regard their introduction "with very great regret. The country, not long emancipated "from native rule, is very backward when compared with the "older provinces, and it was not prepared for so great a change. If "it had been possible to have prevented these Acts having retros- "pective effect, and limited their action to engagements made "subsequent to their introduction into the division, the evil would "have been comparatively slight, and the people would, at all events,

“have accepted liabilities with their eyes open, but the fact has been very different. Debts incurred under a different system; mortgages entered into with a looseness and ignorance of the consequences, which will now only too surely ensue, are being brought into Court and will be carried through to the bitter end. The Marwaree knows no mercy. These bankers who originally settled in the villages under the protection and patronage of the Boondéla zemindars at a time when such protection was worth paying highly for, and in return assisted their patrons with funds on the occurrence of marriages or other high festivals, now find their former patrons at their feet. The old thakoors will be sold up. The running accounts of many years will be brought forward, instalments ignored, and whether true or false they cannot be disproved by the zemindars, who never kept any accounts. District officers will but rarely be able under Section 244 to save the ancestral property from passing into other hands, and seven or eight years hence, perhaps earlier, the land will be in the hands of those money-lenders who will prove a source of weakness to the State, who are proverbially the worst landlords, and who will carry rack-renting to its utmost limit.”

In the older provinces of the North-West, the evil has been so fully acknowledged and the need of a remedy has been so long manifest, that it is hardly necessary to weary the reader with quotations. But I may be excused for laying before him the following passage from Mr. Auckland Colvin's memorandum on the revision of settlements, as it shows clearly that, great as it already is, the evil of the transfer of land from the ancient proprietors to the trading classes is yet but the small cloud no bigger than a man's hand, the herald of the storm, and not the storm itself.

Although they have lost their proprietary rights, in many cases the old zemindars have continued to cultivate their ancestral fields. The custom and feeling of the people, with the absence of any ready method of raising the rent, have protected them hitherto from enhancement and rack-renting.

All this, as Mr. Colvin has well shown, is passing away. We are doing our utmost to destroy the custom, to uproot the feeling. We have provided the landlords with a cheap and speedy process of enhancement. They are beginning to know their strength and to wield the weapon we have placed in their grasp with no feeble hand.

“A growing habit,” says Mr. Colvin, “of raising rent has tended to weaken the feeling of respect with which prescription had clothed the old occupant cultivator. Hence, though the landlord of our generation is slow to use his new powers, he is gradually being brought to appreciate them. When as yet we

hear of rents greatly rising, we may, I take it, pretty generally assume, that they are rising either when they are taken in kind, and where the effect of higher prices is felt immediately ; or that they are rising on tenants-at-will ; or on those classes which, though vested by Act X. of 1859 with rights of occupancy, are mere creatures of the landlord, *servum pecus*, kachees, malees, and such like. The old tradition still protects the former quasi-proprietary bodies ; or if the tradition fails them, they are not slow to assist themselves. There are villages here within sixteen miles of the table at which I am writing, where it is as much as the auction-purchaser's life is worth to show his face unattended by a rabble of endgellers. He may sue his tenants and obtain decrees for enhanced rents ; but payment of those rents he will not get.

" A long series of struggles commencing in our Courts, marked in their progress certainly by affrays, and very probably ending in murder, may possibly lead him at length to the position of an English proprietor. But in defence of their old rates the Brahmin, or Rajpoot, or Syud community, as the case may be, ignorant of political economy and mindful only of the traditions which record the origin and terms of their holding, will risk property and life itself."

This, then, is the prospect that we have before us. A very large number of old families have been ruined either in the earlier days of our rule or since. Their estates have been forcibly transferred. The owners, men chiefly of the proud and warlike classes, are reduced to the condition of tenants of the grasping and usurious creditors who have in most cases purchased their estates. Hitherto they have been to a great extent shielded from enhancement, and have retained some of their former privileges in the shape of a low rate of rent. This last remnant of dignity and comfort is now being snatched from them, and from him that hath not is being taken even that which he seemeth to have. When to this is added, that the class thus described is daily on the increase, that the latest returns published show a large augmentation in the number of transfers, has not enough been said ? Is it not time to step out of the old grooves ? There are breakers ahead. They are clearly seen. Let us 'bout the ship, and strive to get her out of the current that is hurrying her on to them while we can. The events of 1857 brought the question of the transfer of land very forcibly home to the minds of many men. It was taken up by the Government, and underwent very considerable discussion in England and India. The result, however, was very much like the result of many of our discussions. A large file was made, duly docketed, and tied up *secundum artem* with the fitting length of red tape. But nothing was done. The lawyer and political econo-

mist had it their own way. It is always very easy to give a hundred good reasons for doing nothing. And proposals for '*laissez aller*' have the advantage of appealing to the natural timidity and indolence of some men, and to the weariness and want of leisure of others. Notwithstanding the advice of many eminent men, it was decided to leave the law alone, and to trust all to Providence and Section 244 of the Civil Procedure Code. It was trying to stop a torrent with a straw. To show the different views held at that time, I cannot do better than quote from the very able minute in which Sir George Edmonstone summed up the discussion, and gave his judgment against any material alteration in the law.

"30. The objections made to such alienations in this country rest apparently on political and economical grounds.

"31. The objections seem to be—

1st.—That the practice, not being in accordance with native feeling, nor with the customs of Native Governments, produces discontent, and impairs the loyalty and good will of the old hereditary families.

2nd.—That, under its operation, these influential families are supplanted by interlopers of the mercantile class, who are viewed with dislike by the tenantry, and in times of difficulty are unable to aid the Government in the suppression of disturbances.

3rd.—That indebtedness is encouraged among the people by the ready and adequate security which the land offers.

"32. Others may be stated, but these are the principal objections.

"33. Now, it cannot be denied that, during the disturbances of 1857-58, the auction-purchasers of landed estates in these provinces were generally ejected from the possessions of their acquired rights by the former proprietors, and from this the discontent and disloyalty of the latter may be inferentially ascribed to the 'direct and constant action of Government institutions in depriving them of their ancient possessions.' But on a wider view it must be admitted that the forcible extension of the interloping purchasers could not have been attributable to the operation of this cause only. For in Bengal the practice, which it is sought to condemn, prevails at the least to the same extent as in these provinces, while sales for realisation of revenue, which are no less opposed to native feeling than sales in execution of decrees, are much more absolutely and relentlessly carried out than here. Yet, whatever the natural dissatisfaction arising from the alienation of ancestral lands, the loyalty and the good will of the people were not impaired, or, to speak more precisely, there was no overt manifestation of disloyalty among the people of Bengal proper. That was confined to Behar, the people of which are of the same classes, character, and creed, and have the same customs as those found in these provinces and Oude.

"34. Again, to take an instance the other way, there is no part of the country where disturbances were more universal, or were more indubitably traced to the resident population, or where disorder continued so long prevalent, as the districts of the Jhansie and the Jubbulpore Divisions, and yet in no district of those divisions, Humcehpore alone excepted, is there any recognized right of property in the land; and of course no sale of rights in land, whether for realisation of revenue, or in execution of civil decrees, has ever occurred. Those districts were just as seriously and generally disturbed as the districts of Banda and Humcehpore, where the practice in question does prevail, and this is all the more remarkable because many of the landholders in the Jubbulpore and Jhansie Divisions, besides enjoying exemption from process against their lands in satisfaction of their debts, hold on a privileged tenure known as 'oobaree' and pay a mere quit-rent.

"35. It seems to me therefore that, however true it may be in theory that the loyalty and good will of the people must be impaired by 'the direct and constant action of Government institutions in depriving them of their ancestral possessions,' the events of 1857-58 do not justify the inference that the disturbances in these provinces were aggravated by the operation of that cause. The restraints of law and authority were withdrawn; the prevailing impression I believe to have been that our rule was extinguished: and just as the viler classes of the population took to indiscriminate plunder and violence, so the old proprietors took the opportunity of resuming possession of what had ceased to be their property only under the execution of a law and a system which were in complete abeyance, and in their belief had come to an end.

"36. The second proposition is one that can hardly be denied. It is certain that the old hereditary landholders do exercise an influence in their own villages and in their neighbourhood, such as the new men, belonging to the mercantile classes, can seldom acquire, and that they are consequently better able to support the Government in time of difficulty. In a political sense, therefore, it is for the interest of Government to protect the old hereditary proprietors in the possession of their ancestral estates, and to maintain in their integrity the coparcenary communities which are found, more or less, in all the districts of these provinces.

"37. But the question arises whether the Government is warranted in working out a political end by legislation, the justice of which, as it seems to me, can hardly be defended, and this question, I apprehend, can be answered in one way only. If it be a true and a just principle that the whole of a man's property is liable for his *bond fide* obligations, I do not see how the Government can, with propriety, violate that principle, and deprive

creditors of the ultimate security for recovery of their loans, in order that the hands of the executive may be strengthened.

"38. Again, whether, in an economical point of view, the transfer, which is gradually going on, of lands into the hands of capitalists is an unqualified evil must be doubted. In theory, at least, it must be held to be beneficial to the interests of agriculture and commerce, and to the general prosperity of the country; and many instances, I have little doubt, could be cited in which the improved management and the larger resources of an intelligent and enterprising capitalist have produced very satisfactory results. 'There can be little doubt,' as Mr. Strachey says, 'that the new proprietors are generally men of greater wealth and intelligence than their predecessors. The greatest possible of evils in any country is that the proprietors of land should be unable to undertake any works for its improvement, and the curse of landholders impotent for good is doubly heavy in a country which is almost entirely an agricultural one.'

"39. Passing on to the third proposition, I must express my belief to be that were the sale of lands for recovery of debt absolutely prohibited, there would be no diminution of indebtedness among the people. The only effect would be greater recklessness on the part of borrowers, and greater rapacity on the part of the money-lenders. In the Saugor and Nerbudda territories (Jubbulpore), where the land is not liable to process of attachment and sale, the pecuniary embarrassments of the people are said to be excessive, beyond comparison greater than those of the landholders in these provinces. There, to use Mr. Reade's words, 'recklessness and dishonesty have no bounds. There is no sense of liability. Whatever may be the terms of a loan, they are accepted. The tenure of the land is safe, so long as the Government lien is discharged. The creditor cannot oust, and sooner or later is glad to make a compromise. Thus capital is expended on personal gratification. Agricultural enterprise, if it does not recede, does not pass over traditional bounds. There is no improvement, no progress.'

"40. In the district of Neemuch, too, where similarly proprietary right in the land is not recognised, the same state of indebtedness among the landholders obtains, and these two instances afford the strongest possible presumption that, were the alienation of land for recovery of debt put a stop to, there would not be one debtor the less among the landholders of these provinces. They would borrow nevertheless, but at more exorbitant rates of interest than even now are extorted from them."

The great authority on the other side was Sir W. Muir, then the Junior Member of the Revenue Board. With him were men like the late Mr. Mayne, men intimately acquainted with the people, and capable of forming a judgment on the plain facts before them

without being led away by any *a priori* considerations, or any prejudices in favor of so-called principles of economy or jurisprudence.

What Sir W. Muir's views were at that time may be gathered from the following paragraphs of a memorandum written by him in 1858:—

"7. But whether regarded by the natives to be right or to be wrong, the practical result of these sales has been equally disastrous. They contributed seriously to the embarrassment of Government and to the confusion and disorder of the days of anarchy. They proved an eminent source of weakness. This is a fresh argument against the present system, superadded to the evils that were already felt to call for the adoption of all possible means for checking the frequency of sales and permanent transfers.

"8. I am of opinion that a material restraint upon these sales may be devised without injustice and in complete conformity with the habits and prepossessions of the people; and that debts may be to a great extent adjusted without resort to sale.

"9. I would not place any restriction on the direct and voluntary alienation by proprietors of their land; or on the action of the Courts in enforcing deeds of such alienation. But I would confine the action of the Courts, so far as causing permanent alienation, strictly to cases of direct and absolute sale."

Such were the views of Sir William (then Mr.) Muir. And it is impossible not to wish that they had been carried into effect. For fortune is like the Sybil. She comes with her opportunities for doing good, and offers to us the power and occasion of righting that which is wrong. If we reject her terms she may come again, and it may be yet once again. But each time that she comes the gift in her hand is less, while the price she asks is more. Till at last when the experience of years compels us to recognise the worth of the proffered gift, we have to purchase a small remnant of the boon once held out to us at a cost of toil, danger, and difficulty a hundredfold more than would have won it at first.

The arguments used with such fatal power by Sir George Edmonstone in the minute I have quoted are those against which it will be necessary to fight now, if we wish to stop the alienation of land. It is expedient, therefore, to examine them in some detail.

Now, in the first place, it may be as well to say that Sir George Edmonstone did not attempt to deny or to slur over the existence of the evil. He did, indeed, doubt whether the alienation of land had much to do with the disturbances of 1857. He pointed out that in places such as Lower Bengal where compulsory sale was frequent, the people were not actively disloyal. While in divisions such as Saugor and Jhansie and Jubbulpore, where no property in

the soil had been recognised, and such transfers were impossible, the population rose almost to a man. But what does this argument amount to? Simply to this, that the alienation of land was not the only cause of revolt—a position which is not disputed. But if the matter is enquired into village by village, it will, I think, be found that those villages in which auction-purchasers had ousted the old proprietary families were foremost in the fray. Listen to the description that is given by Sir George himself of the state of these old proprietors, and then say whether it is wonderful that they should have seized the opportunity opened out to them by the anarchy of the time. "The ruin," he writes, "of the hereditary proprietor is complete before his land is sold. The unrelenting action of the Civil Court ejects him from his property and reduces him to the condition of a mere tenant-at-will. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred he is rack-rented; and, unable to take to other than agricultural occupations, he has no means of improving his circumstances." Where should we look for rebels unless among a class such as this? What is wanting to make a revolution when there are thousands of men in so desperate a condition, but a Cataline to lead them? It is hard to understand how Sir George Edmonstone, knowing the state and number of the ousted proprietors to be what it was, could seriously argue that the compulsory alienation of land had not produced discontent and had not aggravated the disturbances in these provinces. If it could be shown that disloyalty was not produced, that discontent was not engendered, that the loyalty and good will of the old hereditary families was not impaired by the sale law, one of the main arguments for an alteration in the law would be gone. But I am bold to say that it neither has been nor can be shown; and that it is impossible to reconcile Sir George Edmonstone's arguments with the facts as stated by himself.

That the influential families are supplanted by interlopers of the mercantile class, who are viewed with dislike, while the old families are still looked up to by the peasantry as their natural leaders, is admitted. The political weakness arising from this state of things is also acknowledged. But to meet this, two arguments are adduced. The first, which I may call the lawyers' argument, is in the mouth of everybody who opposes the prohibition of compulsory sale. The whole of a man's property, it is asserted, is liable for his *bond fide* obligations. And the Government, it is urged, is not warranted in working out a political end by legislation, the justice of which cannot be defended. There is a good deal of confusion in this argument. It is not proposed, and so far as I can understand never was proposed, to save a man from paying his just debts. Nor has it been intended by a retrospective enactment to annul mortgages or conditional sales that

have already been concluded. Where then is the injustice? What possible injustice is there in enacting that for the future land will not be sold in execution of decrees for debts incurred after the passing of the measure? If that is unjust, then the abolition of purchase in the army was pregnant with injustice. Yet, among the many objections pressed against that measure, the cry of injustice to the money-lenders to whom future commissions became of no value as a security was never raised. If then care is taken, as no doubt it will be taken, that past transactions are held good, this argument falls at once to the ground; and it is as reasonable to talk, in connection with the abolition of compulsory sales, of injustice to money-lenders as it would be so to talk with regard to entailed estates in England. The second argument brought to counterbalance the admission of a political evil in the alienation of land, is one derived entirely from the imagination of the disputants. It is assumed that capitalists improve their estates, and it is then asserted that transfer of land to them must be beneficial to the country. Imagination transports them to Ireland or some such place. On one side of the picture are a crowd of rioting, whiskey-drinking, fox-hunting spendthrifts, who cannot find money to mend their fences, or repair the thatch of their farm buildings. On the other side enter the canny Scotch farmer, the wealthy trader eager to become a landlord, the thrifty and moneyed Jew. The fences are mended, the buildings repaired, the tenants encouraged. Steam ploughs, threshing machines and drain-pipes take the place of the hunters and fox-hounds and claret bottles. To use the cant phrase, the resources of the country are developed.

But in India, we have not capitalists of this stamp.

I have seen a good many districts in the North-West, and it has been my fate to plod laboriously over hundreds of estates. I cannot call to mind a single instance in which one of these capitalist landlords did anything to improve his estate or better his tenantry. I think what has been my experience is the experience of the whole settlement staff. Undoubtedly, when these new men have obtained an estate much out of cultivation, they have brought hands on to it and broken up the waste. But that I take it is not what is meant by works of improvement. What your banya understands by improving his estate, is increasing the rental. That he is very willing and ready to do, by every means in his power. Whether it is beneficial to the country or not is another thing which I leave to the reader to decide.

The argument, then, against the system of sale, in so far as it rests on the political evils arising from it, if not unanswerable, has not at any rate yet been answered. Nor are the upholders of the compulsory sale of land likely to find a more able exponent

and champion than the late Sir George Edmonstone to carry their standard. It is to remedy the political evil that an alteration of the law is urgently demanded.

The question whether the abolition of sale would increase the indebtedness of the landowners, is a difficult one, and at present more or less of a speculative character. One thing is certain, that if the money-lender knows that he can only get possession of the estate for a term of years, he will diminish the amount of his loan accordingly. The landowner will be able to get less money on the security of his estate. But it does not necessarily follow that he will have to pay a higher rate of interest. The value of the security will not be affected although the amount will be diminished. The arguments drawn from the Saugor and Nerbudda and other territories where proprietary right was not recognised at all are entirely beside the question. The people there have or had no security to give. They are in the position of the cultivators in other places, and the money-lender can only look to their personal effects, their cooking vessels and their cattle. There is, therefore, no meaning in the argument that, because the rate of interest is high, and borrowing reckless in those territories where there is no proprietary right in the land, that, therefore, to stop the permanent alienation of land for recovery of debt in other places where such right does exist will not diminish indebtedness. It is obvious on the face of it that it must diminish the borrowing power of the landowners; and, what is more to the purpose, it must take away the great inducement which leads the usurers to advance money so lavishly. The way in which the present law works is nowhere better illustrated than in the following passage from Sir George Edmonstone's minute:—

"42. Another cause, no doubt, of the pecuniary embarrassment of land-holders, and the consequent alienation of their ancestral property, is their ignorance and improvidence, and the knavery and rapacity of the professional money-lenders. Funds are wanted as an advance for the payment of revenue, or for the celebration of a marriage. The money-lender is resorted to, and the necessities of the borrower enable him to dictate his own terms. Enormous interest is stipulated for, and a mortgage on the landed property of the borrower is demanded. Time passes; interest accumulates; the borrower is forgetful of consequences; the lender, ever watchful, waits his opportunity, and when the debt, with interest on interest, has amounted to a sum about equal to the value of the hypothecated property, the machinery of the civil courts is called into action, and the ruin of the borrower is consummated.

"43. A striking instance of this kind is given in the letter from Mr. C. Currie, the late Officiating Collector of Boolundshuhur, and there is not a district in which very brief inquiry would not discover dozens of similar cases. It is deplorable that knavery of this kind

should be rampant, and that its success should be due, in great measure, to the action of our own institutions, but the remedy does not lie in placing restrictions on the transfer of landed property."

But, while the description of the facts is graphic and accurate, the conclusion arrived at is, I cannot but think, erroneous. Surely it is the desire of getting possession of the estates of their debtors that causes the money-lenders to play this waiting game. If they could hope for nothing but a temporary transfer sufficient to clear off the debt, and no more, they would hardly allow it to accumulate so long.

But it will be said that the rate of interest must rise if land cannot be sold for debt. This danger is, I think, to some extent exaggerated. It is not as if land were to be withdrawn altogether from the market as a security. Every landowner will still be able to borrow to the extent of the value of a lease of his estate for a certain number of years. And it is a question whether the diminution of the amount of good security available will not lead to a rise in the value of that security and a consequent fall in the rate of interest. Certainly, a large amount of capital which now finds a good investment in land, will no longer be able to find such an investment. It is possible that the result may be to the advantage of the borrower, and to raise the value of land.

It will here be said that to diminish the borrowing power of the landowners is to stop agricultural improvement; and that it will be absolutely injurious to the whole country. But is there any foundation for the assumption that the borrowed money is spent on agricultural improvements. It is to be feared there is none whatever. The money is expended on marriages, on maintaining a number of lazy relatives in idleness, and on debauchery. Very little has been invested in remunerative works, or in any way connected with agriculture. The expenditure is entirely unproductive, and any measure that would compel capitalists to divert more money to productive trade cannot fail to be beneficial.

There is, however, another light in which it may seem prejudicial to curtail the borrowing power of our landlords. There are some who say that much money is borrowed simply to pay the Government revenue. It is hinted that any difficulty thrown in the way of the borrower will be a difficulty in the way of the Collector also. If this is true, surely it is the greatest reproach that could be brought against our Government. If we have so put together our system of revenue administration that the landowner must borrow, and if the sale law is to be kept up in order that he may have security to borrow on, the sooner the whole system is disposed of the better. It is only necessary, one would suppose, to prove the existence of such a state of things in order to ensure its destruction.

But in spite of the high authorities for this view, which has been supported among others by Mr. (now Sir John) Strachey, I do not think, at the present time at any rate, this charge can be fairly brought against our administration. If the pressure of our revenue system drives the landowners into debt, it must be from one of two causes. Either the assessment is immoderately high, or our system of collection must be bad. There is no third cause that can exist. As to the assessment, I think it can hardly be maintained that it has been high during the last twenty years. Our first assessments were undoubtedly oppressive in some districts, and led, especially after a lighter settlement had been made, to very extensive transfers of land. For the lighter the settlement the more eager are the banyas to become landowners. The settlement of the North-West now expiring was a little severe at first in more than one district. It was, however, largely reduced, and the increase of cultivation with the rise in prices and rents soon made it light. Sales nevertheless have continued and are on the increase.

Our system of collecting the revenue was, up to the year 1840 or thereabouts, barbarous in the extreme. The demand for revenue forestalled the crops. The landowner was not permitted to gather an ear of grain until his revenue instalment was paid. He was consequently forced to borrow, if he cultivated his own land, and was obliged in any case to compel his tenants to borrow. Mr. R. M. Bird put an end to this injustice; but only so far as the landowners were concerned. The tenants gained nothing. They are still obliged to discount their crops at a very heavy loss in order to pay their rent. But as a rule this does not directly affect the landowner. The debt is incurred by the cultivator.

Although, therefore, our system is extremely faulty in this respect, so far as the cultivator is concerned, I fail to see that the debts of the landowner can be charged to it. It is, indeed, rigorous and machine-like in its working. Arrears are not suffered. The uttermost farthing of the assessment is exacted. But when the assessment is fair, a rigorous system of collection is rather a prevention of debt than an encouragement to thriftlessness. It is true that the demand being nearly simultaneous over a vast extent of country necessarily affects the money-market, and hence, at the time when it is most needed, money is only to be had at double the ordinary rate of interest. But this again tells chiefly on the cultivator, and is not likely to have had any serious influence on the alienation of proprietary rights in land.

Indirectly, no doubt, our revenue system is to blame. We collect the money punctually and rigorously, and under the terror of compulsory sale of the land for default. The landowner who has anticipated or spent his rents, and falls into arrears, goes to the banya

and borrows from him, knowing that he will thus gain time, at any rate, more time than he can possibly hope for from the Collector. The beginning of the catastrophe may therefore be laid to the charge of the revenue system. But to what part of the revenue system? Surely to the compulsory sale law. If there was no fear of the auction sale, it is possible that the defaulter might prefer to submit to any process enforced by Government rather than trust himself to the tender mercies of his money-lending friends.

It is not improbable that a searching inquiry and a large collection of facts would show that lightly assessed and even revenue-free estates come to the hammer almost as often as those that have been overburdened by the settlement officer. In any case, the argument that the landowner must borrow in order to pay the revenue, is a very bad argument against the abolition of compulsory sale. If he is compelled so to borrow by any fault in our administration, that fault should be remedied at once. If there is any such fault, I think it is the use of compulsory sale as a revenue process. Once freed from the apprehension of that danger, it is at least possible that the embarrassed landowner would prefer a temporary sequestration of his profits in favour of Government, to surrendering himself to the clutches of the usurers.

The arguments for maintaining the present state of things have, it is hoped, been shown to admit of refutation. Something more, however, is wanted in this case than mere destructive criticism. How is the change to be made? How is a new system to be introduced? I am free to confess that as soon as an attempt is made to put the principles advocated in this paper into practice, many difficulties arise to meet us on the very threshold. I hope to show that these difficulties can be overcome. They must be overcome unless we prefer to face others many times greater hereafter.

The first step to take—a step without which no progress can be made—is that of abolishing the sale of land for arrears of revenue. It is a process very seldom used in the North-West or Punjab. Under our present assessments it is impossible, unless arrears are negligently allowed to accumulate for years, that sale should be necessary for the recovery of the public revenue. A temporary sequestration of profits, or a transfer for ten or fifteen years, would be sufficient in all cases. It is probably impossible to show that it is necessary to retain the power of putting estates up to auction for arrears. But several reasons may be given for its expediency. It is sometimes useful as a means of getting rid of men who are hopelessly involved, and of giving a clear title to the purchaser, who gets the estate free of all encumbrances. It will also be said by some revenue officers, that sale although seldom put in force, is not without active effect in making the

collection of the revenue easy. The answer to this has been in a measure anticipated by what has been said above regarding the assertion that men are compelled to borrow to pay the revenue. We profess to leave the landlord forty-five per cent. of the rental in the Punjab, Oudh and the North-Western Provinces. If it is necessary to sell the estates by auction in order to recover the Government share, either the share taken by Government is too heavy and more than the people can pay, or it has been erroneously calculated. The former alternative will hardly meet with much support at the present time. If the latter is true, then the assessment ought to be revised. But to promise a man forty-five per cent. of the rental, and to sell him up because we have not fulfilled the promise, is hardly consistent.

It must be conceded that there is no just ground for distinction between the public and the private creditor, and that unless the lien of Government upon the land for its revenue be relinquished, the sale of land in satisfaction of private debts, must be permitted, whatever restrictions may be imposed on it. But Government, I think, can and should give up the power of sale, and so pave the way for that other change in the law which good policy so urgently demands. The abolition of sale for arrears of revenue is a simple matter requiring only a small alteration in the law. The abolition of sale for private debts is a much more complex affair, and no attempt will be made to conceal or extenuate the difficulty of carrying it out.

There are two distinct matters to be provided for. First, it must be decided in what way debts are to be satisfied that were contracted when execution could be had by sale of the land. Secondly, rules must be laid down for the future, of such a character as not to deprive the landowner of all powers of borrowing, while they secure the land from compulsory sale by auction.

As to debts already incurred, and conditional sales or mortgages already transacted, it must be admitted that to prohibit the sale of the land in satisfaction of them would be a measure the policy of which would hardly suffice to cover its injustice. The proposition is not tenable, and has never, it is believed, been promulgated by any statesman of responsibility.

All that we can do with regard to this class of encumbrances on the land is to enforce their immediate registration before a date to be fixed by law, and so prevent the fraudulent addition of debts really incurred after the new law comes into force. As a preliminary measure, therefore, it will be necessary to register in the Collector's office all claims against landowners whether secured by deed on the land, or only of the nature of simple debts. The revenue authorities will take no measures to ascertain the justice of these claims, and their registration must be

expressly excluded by law from being used as evidence in favour of them. The truth of the claim will be decided if the matter comes into court just as if the registration had never been made so far as the plaintiff is concerned. But as no unregistered claim will be executed by sale, a strong presumption will exist in favour of a defendant who contests a claim that has not been registered.

Moreover, the law of limitation regarding these registered claims must be left as it is. If a period is laid down after which no sale in execution shall be allowed without regard to the time at which the debt was contracted, the result must be to the injury of the debtors, and a large number of transfers will take place, many of which might, perhaps, be avoided, especially as the land-owners would have every inducement to pay off the registered claims. Decrees given on account of debts contracted prior to the law being altered, must then, if the above argument is sound, be left to take their course. Something, however, ought to be done to mitigate the evils resulting from the numerous transfers that must take place, and to prevent the depreciation of the value of the land sold, that is sure to occur if a large number of estates are brought at once to the hammer. In this part of the measure, namely, in dealing with debts already contracted, the great difficulty we have to meet is that arising from the rush that creditors will make to the courts. However careful we are to leave the security of old debts untouched, the suspicions of creditors will be aroused. So radical a change in our system cannot fail to suggest the probability of further alteration. Men will make haste to sell the estates of their debtors while they can. It is hoped that this will be kept in mind, as one of the objects of the scheme I have to put forward in this paper is to meet this difficulty.

Turning now to the second class of debts—those that may be incurred after the alteration of the law—the obstacle that meets us is this, that any restrictions we impose on compulsory transfer may only lead to a large increase in the number of so-called voluntary sales. No man, it is presumed, sells or mortgages his estate until necessity, from whatever cause arising, compels him to it. If, then, he is prevented from raising the money he requires, because his land cannot be sold in execution, he will resort, or rather he must resort, to a direct sale. Even that would be preferable in many ways to the present state of things. Estates would probably change hands for something like their real value: and the embarrassed landowner would receive a large sum of money down, instead of being ousted after a number of years on account of a claim made up to a great extent of compound interest. The Government, moreover, would no longer appear as the executioner of the usurer, and would no longer incur the odium of carrying

out compulsory sales through its own officers and in its own courts. It would be possible also for the landowner so parting with his estate to secure himself in the occupation of his own farm, or to retain for himself, according to the common custom of the country, some little allowance in money or land, sufficient to secure his family from absolute starvation. The auction sale allows of none of these things. No remnant of a right, no shadow or rag of a privilege, is left to the wretch whose land the court has ordered to be sold.

But one very great, perhaps the greatest, political evil arising from the present state of things, is the character of the men to whom the great majority of transferred estates are passing. Nothing can be conceived in the shape of a landlord worse than the money-lender or trader who has purchased an estate. He has no sympathy or fellow-feeling of any sort with his people. He seldom resides on his estate. He regards the tenants much as the worst class of Southern slaveholders regarded their slaves. He looks upon them as things given over to him by Providence for the production of rupees. And if he does not kill them outright, it is only because he has learnt wisdom from the fable of the goose that laid the golden eggs. I have done all I can to oppose the attacks that have been made on the rights that we have conceded and confirmed to the landowners. But if this is the class of men who are to become our landowners—and, unless a speedy alteration in the law is made, very few of any other class will be left—we shall be compelled sooner or later to sweep them away.

But a measure confined to the mere abolition of compulsory sale will, I fear, tend if anything to accelerate the transfer of proprietary rights to this very class of men. It will, therefore, be futile so far as the remedy of what I conceive to be the worst evil in the present system is concerned. What then is to be done?

Another very great difficulty meets us on the threshold of the proposal to abolish sale of land for debt. We must, I suppose, allow some execution against landed property. The temporary alienation of land for debt is open to this objection, that if the creditors or traders who now purchase the land sold in execution of decrees rack-rent their land, how much more will they rack-rent if they know that they have only a short and fixed period in which to recover their money. They will have no interest in the estate beyond that period. It will matter nothing to them, so long as they recover their money, if they leave the land a desert and every tenant in the condition of a pauper. It will be said that the tenants are sufficiently protected by the rent-law. I fear this is a delusion. If we have failed in anything we have failed in protecting the tenantry against the oppression of rich and powerful landowners. While whole bodies of tenantry

are found to disclaim rights of occupancy that they know belong to them by law, at the bidding of their landlords; and will pay four rupees as rent, knowing that the village accountant only records two, it is vain to talk of the protection of the rent-law. The probability is that all or most of the estates so transferred for debt will be rack-rented as severely as a merciless combination of chicanery and violence can effect. And that probability is a very serious obstacle to the proposed alteration of the law.

One thing, therefore, appears clear, that any measure to be of use must go much further than the mere abolition of sale in execution for debt. We must either forbid the alienation of land altogether, and give the landowners only a life-interest in the estate, or we must devise some other measure to meet the difficulty.

To stop the alienation of land altogether is unadvisable, even if there was any chance of such a measure being carried. Land is not always transferred to money-lenders and usurers. Nor is it to be hoped, or assumed, that our trading classes will always make as bad landlords as they do now. The idea of prohibiting the alienation of land under any conditions must be put aside as impracticable. What is wanted is a more elastic measure, one that will accommodate itself not only to changes in the country and times, but to the conditions of each case as it may arise. It appears to me that such a measure may be found, by an extension of a right familiar, I believe, to the people of all India and acknowledged by them to be just,—I allude to the right of pre-emption.

The Government of India is by legal fiction if not in fact the owner of the soil. It may be regarded at any rate as possessing a share in every estate. An assertion of the right of pre-emption on behalf of Government would not, I venture to say, alarm the prejudices or outrage the feelings of the people. I believe that if we start from that as our basis, the difficulties attending any alteration in the sale law will be met, and the measure will become capable of being made both popular and beneficial not only to the embarrassed debtors, who are, perhaps, the people least to be thought of, but to the unfortunate tenants of their estates, who, without any fault of their own, are handed over to the most hard-hearted of task-masters.

The first thing, then, is to give the Government of India a legal right of pre-emption to all land. The second step, the abolition of the sale of land in execution of decrees, will then be easy.

This proposal will probably have an alarming sound to some ears. A little consideration will, however, show that the scheme is not of a very gigantic nature, and that it is one capable of contraction or extension at pleasure. The right of pre-emption does not imply

any necessity of purchasing, or of exercising the right. But the possession of it will put the Government in a most commanding position, and will enable it to apply a remedy to the worst instances of hardship that occur, even if it sees fit to go no further.

The details of the measure might be something as follows. No sale of any kind, conditional or direct, or by decree of court should be final unless an offer of the land had first been made to the Government, and declined by it. A certain percentage of profit should be laid down, say, ten per cent. ; and unless a careful valuation of the estate showed that the rental would yield that profit, the Government should in ordinary cases refuse to buy. On becoming owners of the estate, there would be several courses open to pursue. If the outgoing proprietors were men of family and influence, or there was any special reason for wishing to maintain them, it would be easy to make a settlement with them on terms sufficient to yield the required amount of profit. Their position under such an arrangement would be vastly better than any they could hope for did their land pass to the hands of any private purchaser.

If, again, the outgoing proprietor had himself purchased the estate, or was a man of bad character, or one whom it was thought better to get rid of, a settlement could always be made on very advantageous terms with the hereditary tenants. A very large portion of the Etawah district was so settled, after the breaking up of the estates of the larger talookdars in 1839, and the plan has worked admirably as a rule.

If neither of these courses was approved, the estate could be held under the direct management of the Collector or farmed to one of the best landlords in the neighbourhood. In any case the Government would have an ample opportunity of making such arrangements as would protect the old proprietors in their cultivating rights, and save the tenants from oppression. The occasions that Government would thus have of showing itself in the character of a friend would be many. Take for instance the very common case of an estate sold at auction much below its real value and bought by the judgment-creditor himself. Such sales are seldom widely advertised. Even when it is well known that certain land is to be sold, an influential man has only to announce his intention of buying it to stop all real competition. Such cases are much more likely to occur within the period immediately subsequent to the passing of a law abolishing the compulsory sale of land in satisfaction of future debts. The immediate effect of such a law will be, as has been said, to cause a rush of creditors to the courts. Many estates will be put up to sale, and in all probability will sell cheap for want of purchasers. The right of pre-emption would enable Government to take over all estates that

were sold below their value, and to make such arrangements with the owner's as would at any rate save them from utter ruin.

There were some cases brought to notice some time ago by the *Indian Observer* that were good instances in which such a right might have been exercised with admirable effect. In one of them a conditional sale was enforced for a sum of three thousand five hundred rupees against the Thakoor proprietors of a village. The money-lender on obtaining possession raised the rental so as to have a net profit of nine hundred. The Thakoors, who were a body of cultivating proprietors, would far rather pay that amount to the Collector, and be left virtually in their position as zemindars with their small manorial rights untouched, than become the tenants of a man who will make them feel that he is the master every hour in the day. But in point of fact if the estate had passed to Government under the proposed scheme, a profit of ten per cent., amounting to three hundred and fifty rupees, would have been added to the revenue previously paid by them, and they would have been gainers by nearly six hundred rupees a year.

In estates thus purchased by Government, there would remain to the ex-proprietors, no matter whether the estate was settled with them or not, no proprietary right which they could again pledge or transfer. They ought, however, in most cases to be maintained in possession of their manorial rights, their grazing, their fisheries, and their wood; and, on the other hand, all public duties now exacted from zemindars should be rigorously demanded of them. Especially in police matters a great advantage would thus be gained. The new and non-resident landowner, who is generally at war with his tenants, or at best has no personal influence with them, is useless to the Magistrate and the police officer. Under the proposed plan, although he would be called on to pay a heavier revenue, and would no longer have a transferable interest in the estate, the old zemindar would be the zemindar still. No one would have come between him and his tenants. Whatever power or influence in the village he had before, would still be his.

It would also be in the power of Government to hold out to the ex-proprietors an inducement to industry and good management that has never yet been held out to them. The payment of ten per cent. on the price paid for the estate would be a necessary part of any agreement between them and the Government. But it might often be in their power to pay more. It should be a part of the scheme that, when the estate was re-settled with the ex-proprietors, any payment that they might agree to make, over and above the minimum profit required, should form a sinking fund to repay the Government and to buy back the full proprietary right in the land. There is little doubt that in many cases the old proprietors might recover their land by this means in a com-

paratively short period. At all events the hope and possibility would always remain present to them, stimulating them to continued industry and more vigorous exertion. Nor can it be doubted that the rôle that would be thus assumed by Government is more benevolent than that which it now plays, of the executioner called in by Shylock to cut him his pound of flesh.

After the abolition of compulsory sale by decree of court, and when the old debts had been either collected or barred by limitation, the right of pre-emption could only be exercised in the case of conditional sales, or direct voluntary transfers. If, however, it is to be expected, as I think it is, that these transfers will increase in consequence of the abolition of compulsory sale, the right will still be as much needed and will have as wide a field for its exercise. No other means that I can imagine will give the Government the power of preventing the transfer of land to classes whose possession of it as landowners is a growing evil both to the people and the Government; and at the same time will admit of its transfer to persons against whom there are no such objections.

There are two grounds on which it is probable that opposition will be raised to this proposal. In the first place it will be said that in the case of sales or mortgages with conditional sale, the price will be so large or the amount will be so swelled by the addition of interest, that it will pay no one but the mortgagee or creditor himself to take the estate. In the second place it will be urged that this pre-emption scheme is only another form of a Government land bank. It would be better and shorter, it may be said, to come forward in the first instance and lend a man money on the security of his land, than to wait till he is embarrassed and has borrowed it from some one else. Both of these objections seem to me to be without good foundation. In the first one it is forgotten that compulsory alienation of land for debt will have ceased. It will no longer be the object of the money-lender to run up a long bill which he may never realise. The landowner will also have been freed from the fear of compulsory sale by the Collector, and will be under no temptation to prefer the banya to the Government as a creditor. His power of borrowing will also have been largely diminished for the same reason. Even granting, then, which I do not, that estates at present are generally transferred by compulsory or conditional sale for amounts exceeding their value, and the recovery of ten per cent. on which would be impossible, still under the new conditions this would not, nay could not, be the case. It would also be the direct interest of the embarrassed landowner, when the intention of Government was understood, to avoid putting such a price on his estate as would render its pre-emption by Government impossible. But if my surmises

turn out to be incorrect, if it is found that the price put on land, either *bond fide* or collusively, is such that Government cannot afford to purchase, what harm has been done? None whatever—the scheme will simply have failed, nothing more. But the Government will not have been involved in any embarrassment.

This consideration seems to lead naturally to the answer to the second objection. The failure of the pre-emption plan would not lead to any difficulty or loss. The failure of a Government land bank if carried on in any large way (and in any small way it will be useless,) can hardly be contemplated with like equanimity. The fact is that the two schemes are diametrically opposed in their nature. A land bank to be of any use for political purposes must lend to all landowners. If we refuse any, we may refuse the very one whose position we may afterwards most wish to save. The right of pre-emption on the other hand may be restricted within any limits that may from time to time be dictated by expediency. It is a weapon that need never be used, and yet is always ready for use when most wanted. It might be interposed at any time to save an estate which Government wished from whatever motive to preserve from strange hands. It might on the other hand be laid aside altogether.

But a Government land bank must from its very nature go on extending its business. It is hardly necessary to say what that involves—what an enormous establishment—what an addition to the already overgrown business of administration. Year by year the business would grow, the capital out on loan increase, and with it the labour of collection. Even granting that the management was perfect, that no bad debts were contracted, still it would be necessary in many cases to resort for recovery to distraint and transfer. We should have Government appearing in the most objectionable character—that of a relentless and exacting usurer. With time, the old rate of interest, and oppressions of the old money-lenders, would be forgotten. Nothing would remain but a sense of the present misery, and the dull impersonal severity with which the debts to the Government bank were collected. The very arguments that can be adduced in favour of claiming a right of pre-emption for the State tell against the institution of a public land bank.

There is another cry that will infallibly be raised against the scheme here advocated. Political economy will be called to the rescue, and I shall be accused of wishing to trample on those precepts which have to many minds in the present day a sanction greater than supports any law either of God or man. To this cry I have only to reply that it is based on an entire misconception of economic science. It may be the case, under certain conditions, that free trade in land as well as in everything else is a

good thing. It may also be the case that likewise, under certain conditions, Government interference in such matters is a bad thing. But when the conditions which Political Economy postulates do not exist as in India, what becomes of its precepts? I am content to quote the words of Mr. George Campbell (Irish Land, p. 164). "As to the rules of political economy, I confess that since I conducted the inquiry in Orissa, where so many were starved according to the strictest rules of that science, I have not much liked the name of it." Strictly speaking, however, it is not the science, if it is a science, that is to blame, but the somewhat stolid misapplication of it.

There is another ground on which I advocate the assertion of a right of pre-emption by the State. It is possible that English legal prejudices may be for some time longer too strong for those who wish to put an end to compulsory sale. The fight may go on for some years, and meanwhile a finishing touch will be put to the ruin of the old land-owning classes. When victory is gained, that which was fought for may be attainable no longer. But the possession of a right of pre-emption would enable the Government to meet the worst cases in the most effective way, and to stay the course of ruin, until the more effectual remedy is provided. Independently, therefore, of any alteration in the law regarding the sale of land for debt, I advocate the assertion of a right of pre-emption by the State as a thing good in itself and a power that the Government of this country ought for political reasons to have.

In the permanently settled provinces it would enable the Government by degrees, slow degrees it is true, to rid itself of an institution which is an evil to the country, as well as a source of serious embarrassment to the administration. In those provinces sale for arrears of revenue should be abolished as well as elsewhere. But every arrear should *ipso facto* involve the annulment of the settlement of the estate in arrears, and no engagement for perpetuity should in such cases be renewed. In the course of time many estates would by these combined means be released from permanent engagement.

To sum up briefly the measures I propose for the abolition of the compulsory sale of land.

1.—The Government must relinquish its right to sell land for arrears of revenue.

2.—A law must be passed giving the State a right of pre-emption to all land.

3.—All persons having claims against the owners of land, whether such claims are directly secured on the land or not, must be compelled to register all such claims before a certain date.

4.—After the passing of the law no sale of land shall be allowed

in execution of any decree for a claim not so registered, nor in respect of a transaction that occurred subsequently to the alteration in the law.

It would be a matter of no great difficulty, I think, to draft a bill on these principles that would enable the Government to carry out the new policy with ease. That it would be hailed throughout the whole of India with acclamation, and would be recognised as an earnest of our wish to govern the country as far as possible in accordance with their desires, I have no hesitation in asserting. The auction sale of land is the most hated innovation that has been introduced under British rule. The abolition of it would give the landowners a feeling of security that no permanent settlement could confer, and would bring to the Government a popularity not to be secured by any proclamations or manifestoes however gracious.

Hand in hand with this grand measure should go others designed to mitigate the evil that has already been done, and to soothe the animosities that recent laws have created between the landlords and the tenants. Such measures should be taken to secure the ousted proprietors in the occupation of their own farms at fair rents, as would suffice to save them from complete ruin. The full and original meaning of a settlement should be recognised. The settlement officer instead of being as he is now like the agitator who deserved, according to an English Bishop, to be ducked in a horse-pond, instead of setting the landlords and their tenants by the ears and then leaving them to fight out their quarrels, should have power to arrange everything, rents as well as revenue, for the term of the settlement. The present state of things has been fully described and laid bare by Mr. Colvin. And as it is probable that any one who has waded so far through this paper will have read his memorandum, I need not enlarge upon it. But the present state of things cannot be allowed to go on. It is so unintelligible that Government should send an officer to settle the revenue, and yet not empower him to settle rents, that I have heard natives attribute it to a desire to increase the stamp revenue. The settlement officer leaves behind him as he goes a train of litigation gradually widening like a ship's wake, to mark his track. Nor is there any end to the litigation. A tenant who has been sued for enhanced rent this year can be sued again next year and the next. He never knows when he is safe. On the other side the landlord is compelled to pay enhanced revenue, but if his rents are low, he is referred to a costly course of litigation. His tenants combine against him. They appeal to the judge and from the judge to the High Court. And in many cases, after spending large sums of money, the landlord finds himself where he began. If he wins, the tenants

have not only to pay enhanced rents, but the heavy costs of most expensive legal proceedings. This, forsooth, is what we are pleased to call a settlement.

It is not my intention to discuss other measures unconnected with the land, that ought in my opinion to form a part of an Indian policy. It is a wholesome maxim that of Horace—*ne sutor ultra crepidam*. And if I wished to transgress it, the limits permitted to a paper of this nature would forbid me. But I may be allowed to say that if to the land measures I have indicated were added the abolition of the income-tax, and an educational policy based chiefly on a liberal grant-in-aid system, which left the management of the schools to the people themselves, we might almost risk the empire on a *plébiscite*.

That there is much to be said for the income-tax, I admit. But there is no doubt that it is very much disliked and has caused much oppression, and is unsuited to the Oriental turn of mind. It is also, to an extent that I think we are hardly aware of, passed on to the poorest classes by both traders and landlords. There are, I think, few of the larger landlords who ever give five rupees to a dispensary or a memorial, who do not amply recoup themselves for the unwonted generosity by taxing their tenants. Anything openly imposed by Government—whether income-tax or cess—whether imperial or local taxation—is invariably collected perhaps twofold from the tenants, if they are not strong enough to resist. Most of the arguments for the tax are based on the supposition that it is a tax on the rich. It may be so in England. But the less we apply English ideas to India, the nearer we are likely to approach to the truth.

My whole argument throughout this paper is that our present system of drifting on, is widening the distance between Englishmen and natives of India. We must sacrifice some of our treasured projects and pet prejudices if we wish the gulf to close. And the sooner it is done the better.

There are other causes at work not so intimately connected with the policy of Government, but quite as active in widening the breach. I allude to the restless and discontented state of Englishmen in India generally. There is not a large station or cantonment in which the neglected look of the houses and once cared-for gardens, does not prove that India is even less a home to Englishmen than ever. In the North-West Provinces, I fear it must be admitted, that this discontent and unrest has taken as firm a hold of the members of the Civil Service, as of any other class. It would be out of place here to speak of the causes of this feeling. But I mention it, as I cannot but think that it will prove a serious evil, and a great obstacle to good administration.

I bring this paper to a conclusion in the hope that if it does

nothing else, it may set better wits to work. In the North-West Provinces the time seems auspicious for a change, and for the introduction of something like a real reform in the matters I have dealt with. Another year of office remains to the present Governor, Sir William Muir. Judging from the opinions he has formerly expressed, the last year of his service may be marked by measures of a greater magnitude than any he has yet instituted, and such as will give to this part of India that policy of reconstruction it so urgently requires.

C. H. T. CROSTHWAITE, c.s.

ART. II.—MR. STEPHEN'S MINUTE ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE IN BRITISH INDIA.

IN circulating Mr. Stephen's minute on the judicial administration, the Government of India has been careful to point out that it contains not the views of the Government, but merely Mr. Stephen's individual opinions: and it has been published mainly in the hope of provoking discussion on the various suggestions contained therein. In contributing our mite to this result, we must premise briefly that we do not purpose to follow Mr. Stephen through the various subjects he has touched on, but will confine our remarks to some of the main underlying principles on which the whole minute is constructed. Mr. Stephen has devoted many pages to a recapitulation that must be perfectly familiar to all our Indian readers.

One of the first questions discussed by Mr. Stephen is that of the division of the Covenanted Civil Service into an executive and a judicial branch. In doing this he passes under review the opinions of a number of distinguished officers both of the North-Western Provinces and of Bengal. It will be remembered by our readers that the multifarious duties imposed upon the Collector-Magistrate have within the last few years greatly increased, and at the same time the High Court, in its anxiety that the future District and Sessions Judge should acquire a familiarity with the course of judicial procedure, has been insisting that the Collector-Magistrate, or, as the fashion is now to call him, the District officer, shall perform a large amount of purely judicial work. To say nothing of the impossibility of putting more than twelve hours' work into twelve hours, there is a positive incompatibility between the two classes of work that has been very generally pointed out by Commissioners, but by none more clearly than by Mr. Montresor. His words are—"I believe, and my experience confirms my remarks, that no officer can properly perform judicial duties unless he is perfectly secure against interruption. To take and record evidence and conduct a trial to a sound conclusion demands complete concentration of the attention, unbounded patience, and complete security from interruption, which cannot be expected by the Collector-Magistrate, much, or I might say wholly, as they may be considered essential to justice and decorum. When once in office the Magistrate is never safe; some one has invariably some object connected with his multifarious duties that must be attended to, and the Magistrate seeing and knowing this, cannot allow the whole executive machinery his district to come to a standstill." Hence, it has become

a general opinion among the officers of Lower Bengal, that after the grade of Joint-Magistrate there must in practice be a division of labour between the judicial and executive functions, and that it is advisable to recognize such in the organisation of the Service. In Lower Bengal there has been a singular unanimity as to the desirability of a distinct judicial branch. In the North-Western Provinces, while it would seem the preponderance of opinion is in favour of a division, some weighty objections are urged against it. When, however, we come to the Punjab, the necessity for a division of the Service seems to be again admitted. There, it would seem, the tendency is to sacrifice the executive duties to the judicial; while in Bengal the exactly opposite result takes place, District officers invariably neglecting the judicial in favour of the executive. Of the proposals from Madras and Bombay we shall say nothing, as in reality the whole weight of Mr. Stephen's Minute is concentrated on the Bengal system. Of the opinions quoted by Mr. Stephen in favour of such a division, several are based upon the improvements that have taken place in the qualifications of the vakils who now plead in the mofussil courts. While we thankfully acknowledge that such is the case, and admit that the rising generation of pleaders differs in the most marked manner from former practitioners, we cannot avoid thinking that Mr. Bell and others, who dwell on this point, speak rather theoretically than of what they have actually experienced. For example, we doubt very much whether Mr. Bell has himself ever found that he was incapable "~~of holding his ground against the advocates~~" that appeared to plead before him. ~~When, therefore,~~ he and others write about the unseemly and discreditable sight of "a mofussil bar in advance of the Bench," they are thinking not of what would or could take place before them, but of what would be the case if Civilian Judges were to continue similar to what they had experience of in their younger days. It is necessary to point to this, because Mr. Stephen's third conclusion, "that there is some danger that the regular legal education now given to Subordinate Native Judges and pleaders may cause their efficiency to contrast unfavourably with the inefficiency of the European Sessions Judges," is evidently based solely on these opinions. Further on we will consider the exact value of this boasted legal education, and we content ourselves here with merely stating that whatever superiority in legal knowledge may be possessed by modern vakils over their predecessors, a far more marked one will distinguish the men who in the course of the next seven or eight years will attain the post of District Judge, from those who at present monopolise those offices. Already we have heard it said by practising vakils that the Magistrates of the present day are far in advance of the Judges in their legal knowledge. Elsewhere Mr. Stephen admits

the marked improvement that has been effected in this respect by the introduction of the competition system; but in drawing his conclusions, and suggesting schemes for the future, he has quietly omitted it from his consideration. There is as little reason to suppose that the qualifications of District Judges will stand still, when competition men begin to fill those offices, as to ignore the improvements in the quality of vakils that has already taken place.

In considering this part of the subject, Mr. Stephen has quoted a remark of Sir H. S. Maine, where he says,—“I do not misstate the opinion of nearly all the Judges, civilians as well as barristers, in the Bengal and North-West High Courts, when I say that they regard the great majority of the District Judges in both the provinces as shamefully inefficient.” It is the misfortune of men like Mr. Stephen and Sir H. S. Maine, in dealing with a subject of which they have no personal knowledge, that they are dependent on the opinions of other men, and very naturally ascribe greater weight to the opinion the higher the rank of the person who gives it. But such a mode of weighing opinions is exceedingly deceptive; and we fancy we have seen cases, not once nor twice, where the Privy Council have applauded District Judges who had been censured by the High Court, and while reversing the decision of that tribunal, transferred to the shoulders of those exalted Judges the censure they had improperly and undeservedly launched against the inferior court. Any one who should go to the members of the Secretary of State's Indian Council for a true account of the actual condition of things in the India of the present day, could find himself lamentably misinformed, and so Judges of the High Court should by no means be accepted as unimpeachable authorities on the qualifications of District Judges. In speaking on the “shameful inefficiency of the District Judges,” they doubtless give a conscientiously accurate description of those officers as they were when they held *mofussil* appointments; but since then many changes may have taken place, of which the High Court could have no other way of judging but the very insufficient one from the result of appeals. If such a test were universally applied, the marked superiority of the High Court itself would, perhaps, be not so very apparent. When we consider Mr. Stephen's description, given further on in his Minute, of the mode in which an appeal case is heard in the High Court, and the conclusion drawn therefrom, that “an appeal so decided is in reality no decision on the merits,” we may fairly question the value of any opinion so formed as to the capacity of the District Judges. In another place we find Mr. Stephen record it as his conclusion, that after a very limited period of residence in India, lengthened service by no means implies increased efficiency, and that a Sessions Judge is nothing more than “a

Magistrate grown rather older, while a High Court Judge stands in many cases in the same relation to a Sessions Judge." To the opinions, therefore, on which Sir H. S. Maine relies, we must decline to accord any infallibility; and while we see no reason to doubt that it fairly embodies the experiences of the several Judges of the High Court while they held the inferior office, we require more than their *ipse dixit* before receiving it as a correct description of present incumbents. *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes?* Mr. Stephen, quoting expressions from Mr. Justice L. Jackson, declares that "the concurrent and unceasing delivery of numerous unconsidered judgments must tend to the worst results, and accounts not only 'for a diminution of the prestige and authority of the Court,' but for any number of appeals." If the opinions of people in high office are to be taken as settling questions of this kind conclusively, the Judges should never forget that they have been themselves quite as unhesitatingly condemned, and that the entanglement of one of their number in the Statute of Frauds afforded Sir M. Wells material for a very confident though not very flattering description of the whole body.

It does not appear that the division of the Service into an executive and judicial branch is one of which Mr. Stephen approves. "It seems to me," he says, "that the first principle which must be borne in mind is that the maintenance of the position of the District officers is absolutely essential to the maintenance of British rule in India, and that any diminution in their influence and authority over the natives would be dearly* purchased even by an improvement in the administration of justice." And a few pages further on: "The exercise of criminal jurisdiction is both in theory and in fact the most distinctive and most easily and generally recognized mark of sovereign power. All the world over, the man who can punish is the ruler. Put this prerogative exclusively in the hands of a purely judicial officer who has no other relations at all to the people, and who passes his whole life in a court, and I can well believe that the result would be to break down in their minds the very notion of any sort of personal rule or authority on the part of the Magistrate.* *

* * In a few words, the administration of criminal justice is the indispensable condition of all government and the means by which it is in the last resort carried on." From these several propositions, Mr. Stephen draws the conclusion that "it is necessary upon the whole that the District officer should both administer criminal justice and discharge miscellaneous executive functions." Although we are very far from according an unqualified assent to these propositions, it is no part of our

* The meaning is, "would be a dear price to pay for."

scheme to enter into a refutation of them. We shall content ourselves with remarking, that the influence of the District officer at present is much more owing, in our opinion, to his position as head of the police, and consequently power of the initiative in all criminal prosecutions, than to the exceptional exercise of judicial functions. Those who had experience of the state of things on the reorganisation of the police in 1862 in a district where the new Police Superintendent engaged in a contest for power with the Magistrate, will be able to support us in pointing to this as the real source of power in the eyes of the natives. Vigorous and able Magistrates were then completely put aside despite their retention of the fullest criminal judicial powers; and it was no uncommon thing to hear from the mouth of people who, a few weeks previously, used to cringe before him, that the Magistrate was no longer anybody, that the Police Superintendent had become the great man of the district. It was not until the other day when the Government of Bengal resolutely set itself to reduce Police Superintendents to a position of entire subordination to the Magistrates, that the District officers can be said to have recovered their former prestige.* We are quite satisfied that the influence of the District officer would in no way be impaired if the decision of all the cases between man and man, which form the staple work of a judicial Magistrate, were absolutely and for ever taken away from him.

Instead, therefore, of a separation of judicial from executive functions, what Mr. Stephen advocates is a separation of criminal from civil jurisdiction. "If then," he writes, "this objection be put aside, it appears that, by erecting civil jurisdiction into a separate branch from criminal jurisdiction and general administration, we should effect the best division of labour of which circumstances will permit." Now, as this division of labour already exists, at least in the Regulation Provinces, we fail to see the exact significance of the proposal. Under the present organisation the only functionary (excluding the High Court) who combines in his own person civil and criminal jurisdiction is the District and Sessions Judge, and, as will appear hereafter, Mr. Stephen would not alter his powers in this respect. The civil jurisdiction of the District Judge is, we may say, mainly one of superintendence over the inferior courts, either directly or through the medium of appeals.* We find that in the year 1869, in the whole of Bengal, only 123 original civil suits were decided by those officers, which, allowing for the additional Judges, would give an average of four suits to each Judge. Statistics, therefore, prove that

* The following table of judicial year 1869, will be useful for reference:—

the entire original civil jurisdiction is in the hands of courts presided over by Native Judges, who have no other functions to perform ; while of appeals, fully half are referred for decision to the Subordinate Native Judges. The District Judge then exercises civil jurisdiction merely in respect of the other half of the appeals and as a general overseer of the subordinate courts.

As might have been expected, the system of appeal which prevails in this country meets with anything but friendly treatment from Mr. Stephen. Although disposed to go a considerable way with him in the remarks he has made on this subject, we cannot help thinking that in his statement of the weak side of the system he has indulged in a good deal of sophistical special pleading, and not sufficiently remembered the peculiar circumstances under which the practice has taken rise in this country. It was not because English Judges were supposed to be more likely to form correct opinions on the Shasters and Koran, they were in the first instance appointed to supervise the country courts ; but simply because it was believed they had a desire to do justice between the parties, which the native courts were known to have no desire to do. If in this respect the native courts have since improved, that improvement is in no slight degree to be ascribed to the ignorant, if you will, supervision of English Judges. That the time has come when this superintendence may be safely withdrawn, we are by no means convinced ; and in stating the other side of the case Mr. Stephen would seem to recognise some danger. "The system of appeals," he writes, "does undoubtedly afford some sort of security against the indifference and carelessness into which Judges altogether unchecked by public opinion and by the criticism of the Bar could hardly fail to fall. The fear of having judgment reversed on appeal, or by a superior court in the exercise of the power of supervision, and the fear of reproofs which may accompany the reversal of the decision, are the sanctions by which Indian Judges are kept up to their work."

We cannot agree with him that the simple existence of a right of appeal "reduces the court of first instance to insignificance" or renders its judgment of "*no weight*." Doubtless if the appellate courts allow the right of appeal to be abused, and from a weak over-anxiety to do justice, imagine they are bound to open

CASES DISPOSED OF BY—

<i>High Court, Appellate.</i>		<i>Mofussil Civil Courts.</i>	
Regular appeals	... 281	District Judge, original	... 123
Special „	... 3,461	Ditto, appeals	... 8,298
Miscellaneous	... 530	Subordinate Judges, original	2,980
		Ditto, appeals	... 8,999
		Moonsiffs, original	.. 129,184

up the whole question between the parties as if no trial had already been held and no decision come to, such results must ensue. But we can quite well conceive appellate courts taking a different stand and refusing to interfere with a finding once come to, except in the event of a palpable and indisputable failure of justice. Notwithstanding the unsatisfactory state into which this wrong view of their functions has at present reduced the appellate courts throughout Bengal, we believe a little judicious advice from the High Court, preceded by a wholesome example on the part of the Judges of that court, would in a very short time work a marvellous reformation. Amputation is to be resorted to only as a last resource. Mr. Stephen speaks of double appeals, but we were not aware that any such are allowed by law. Mr. Macpherson in his Civil Procedure, page 357, says—"The law has not provided machinery for a third trial of the case upon the merits at large. But it has created under the head of special appeal a certain superintending authority which does not, like the jurisdiction on regular appeal, propose to itself the examination of the correctness or incorrectness of the conclusion which the court below has adopted as to the merits of the case; but which exists for the purpose of maintaining uniformity in the law and in the decisions of the courts."

The antecedent hostility of Englishmen, and English lawyers in particular, to any system of appeal is, we cannot help thinking, one of those prejudices, which, resting on no philosophical basis, has sprung up simply from the past history of legal institutions in England itself. It would weary our readers if we were to attempt any detailed development of our idea, or trace the means by which it has come to pass that an appeal on the facts of a case is practically unknown in the British Isles. We may, however, briefly point out that in the earliest period the rights of individuals were decided not by technical or legally trained tribunals, but by the vote of their neighbours assembled in county courts. The whole organisation of the Anglo-Saxon period being one of counties, beyond a general subjection to the king and great council of the nation, each county was perfectly independent of any superior controlling authority. The Norman Conquest altered this state of things, and uniting the several counties together in a much more intimate manner, rendered all alike subordinate to a central authority. In this process the Norman courts, which had gradually developed themselves from the *aula regia*, played a most important part; for although at first the subjects which came within their cognizance were almost exclusively those in which the king was interested, the Norman lawyers were not long in extending their jurisdiction by various fictions, and arrogating to themselves the right of deciding questions which had always

been held to belong to the county courts. We find numerous complaints of this aggression, but for all that it steadily proceeded till the county courts themselves disappeared, and the only trace of their existence left in English procedure was to be found in the expression of "putting oneself on the country," where an issue of fact had been joined for the trial of which a jury had to be empanelled. But though this right of having all questions of fact decided by twelve "honest men of the county" is the only ostensible remnant of those courts once so dear to the Anglo-Saxon freeholders, the spirit in which they worked has never been effaced from the retentive genius of the English people; and we have no doubt that it is to the original constitution and status of these courts, we are to ascribe the fact of no appeal having ever been thought necessary from the finding of a jury. However well juries may in general discharge their duties, we cannot regard the fact of no appeal lying from their verdicts as any sign of peculiar "confidence in those tribunals." In every suit that goes before them, one party at least is discontented with their finding, and would not hesitate to declare his want of confidence in that particular tribunal, whatever might be his views on the institution generally. It would be a great mistake to confound a general admiration for that peculiar mode of constituting a tribunal, with an approval of the proceedings of any one tribunal that had been so called into existence for the settlement of any particular dispute.

Practically every cause that comes to hearing has a special tribunal created for the decision of that matter and no other; it is only the mode, or law, under which the tribunals are to be created that remains constant. How it comes to pass that, though every case tried leaves one discontented party, this discontent has never mounted to such a head as to make itself heard, it would be hard to say. Perhaps it is an instance where the spirit of the nation is too powerful for the spirit of the individual, and prevents his ever thinking of a mode of redress that is out of harmony with the past history of the people and the genius of their institutions; or, perhaps, it is a mere application of the vulgar proverb that "what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander:" the finality of a jury's verdict is against me this time, it may be in my favour next. The point we wish to draw attention to here is that the absence of the right of appeal in England should not be taken as any proof of confidence in the tribunals of original jurisdiction; but that its explanation is to be looked for in the past legal history of the nation and the peculiarly conservative genius of the Saxon race, which leads them to tolerate longer than any known race even positive abuses. Students of Bentham will be slow to infer from the existence of a peculiar

procedure in England that it is either philosophical or even commonly beneficial. We may in a general way say, that where courts have sprung up among the people themselves, the right of appeal will be very limited; whereas on the other hand, where they have been established by a Sovereign who rules not merely as a representative of the people, appellate courts will be freely provided. A ruler despotic in power must, for his own security, provide appellate courts to supervise the inferior ones; amongst a free people the citizens themselves perform the work of supervision.

Such being admitted, we are in a better condition now to understand the feeling with which the people of this country regard the right of appeal. The Judges of the High Court are almost unanimous in stating that the right of appeal is popular. Mr. Justice Bayley says—"The fixed but mischievous idea in the native mind on the subject of appeal can hardly be understood by any one who has not been a Judge in the Zillah Court;" and he gives an answer made to him by a Muhammadan gentleman on the subject, that the fixed idea among the natives when they lose a case is "*appeal karne hoga*, that is, right or wrong, we must appeal." Mr. Justice L. Jackson writes—"If a *plébiscite* could be taken to-morrow on the retention of appeal, we should see a much larger affirmative majority than was lately returned by the French people on a different question." In fact, any one of mofussil experience will bear us out in saying that as trial by jury is to the typical Englishman the *palladium* of liberty, so the right of appeal is regarded by the Bengáli.

It is a wonderful sight then to see English judges and statesmen holding up this Bengáli *palladium* as a nuisance to be brushed aside as soon as possible. The fact that the people were themselves attached to the institution ought, one would imagine, to go a long way in moderating the zeal of the British Philistine, even though it may seem to him very far from being the best that could be devised; but strange to say, with that usual incapacity to sympathise with people of a different race, English lawyers and judges are as little driven out of their Utopian courses by it as a railway train would be by meeting a frog upon the line. Confident as we are of our vast superiority to people of other races, we determine to make them happy in spite of themselves. That which they do not ask for we insist on giving them, that which they ask for we sternly refuse. Municipalities, roads, statistics, and sanitary reform, which they detest, we force upon them; while the right of appeal, which they value, we persist in taking away. The former, in spite of the most decided opposition, we insist on taxing them to support; the latter we refuse them, though maintained at their own expense; for we can-

not pretend to say that an abuse of appeal hurts any but the litigating parties.

Now, what is the great objection to a system of appeal? It throws heavy expenses on the parties? As long as they do not object, wherein is the harm? Putting the matter in the broadest light, it merely transfers the wealth of landholders and others to a class of men called vakils. It acts as a kind of safety valve for the permanent settlement. The money is much better in their hands than in those of its former owners. By such a process of transfer a body of educated intelligent men, who have a certain feeling of independence, the result of making their own fortune, is maintained, without any expense to the general revenues, but by the voluntary contributions of the landholders. Any other Government but an English one would gladly seize the opportunity thus afforded by the people themselves of educating them in the most effectual manner. In some countries the ideal of education is afforded by the army; the whole population, or such a large proportion as to affect the tone of the whole, is regularly passed through the army. After the French Revolution of 1789, the army was the only means left through which the people of France could pass from a state of chaotic anarchy to order. Why should not the legal profession furnish the ideal of education for Bengal? It is not the ideal an Englishman would choose; but then it is, perhaps, the only ideal possible. In this point alone has the mind of England come into living contact with the mind of Bengal. Legal thought has taken root, and the notions of legal right that we have created throughout every village in the mofussil would survive long after we had disappeared from India. It is by seizing on the points of living contact alone that one nation can modify another. The great advantage that this court practice possesses as a means of education is its eminently practical character. The knowledge acquired is made to penetrate the mind of the recipient, instead of remaining a foreign undigested substance on his memory. No mere capacity of repeating what has been told by the teacher or read in English books will be of use in this profession; the vakil must have so assimilated the result of his studies that his own mind shall have been modified thereby. From having constantly to apply principles which he has learned theoretically, to actual facts as they arise, and to turn in on his own intellect for arguments, the vakil acquires a habit of self-reliance, a confidence in his own powers and a capacity of recognising the connection between reasons and beliefs. Now in all this the forms of thought in which his mind works are essentially European: the moulding laws in obedience to which his whole mental life is carried on are Western as opposed to Oriental. When we consider all that is implied in this, we shall perhaps

be prepared to admit that the most powerful means available by which to civilise the people of this country is to be found in encouraging in every way the legal profession.

We must not be misunderstood when we draw attention to those general considerations and collateral advantages, as though we deemed them the only, or even the main elements, which should decide the question. A system of appeal were introduced will rest itself on narrower and more direct consequences, though it would be very unfashionable at the present day to allude to them. But we have not now to introduce such a system for the first time. For better or for worse it already exists, and we regard the indirect effects that flow from it quite as deserving of weight in any reconsideration of the system as the antecedent prejudices with which English barristers invariably approach the subject.

We come now to some of the specific objections to the present system which have been urged by no less authorities than Judges of the High Court. Evidently their remarks have had considerable weight with Mr. Stephen, and he quotes freely from them. The point which the Judges particularly insist on is the inefficiency of the "special appeal." The question, it will be remembered, was raised by Sir B. Peacock some few years ago, when he found the court deluged with such cases where the amount at stake was trifling. At that time Sir B. Peacock attempted to calculate the expense to Government of each special appeal, and proposed, as a cheaper remedy, to pay the parties the full amount in dispute. Such a mode of looking at the matter appears to us singularly fallacious. If a similar calculation was made of the cost to Government of every conviction for petty theft, we doubt not it would be found much cheaper to pay the complainant to withdraw his case. To say nothing of the fact that the amount for which a special appeal is preferred affords no safe indication of the actual value of the dispute to the litigants, the indirect effects of each appeal decided are altogether incapable of being expressed in a money value. The pressure of work on the High Court which then attracted attention to the subject would, from Mr. Justice Loch's remarks, appear to have been owing to the misuse of the privilege and not in any way essential to the right of appeal itself. He writes: "The court is inundated with special appeals, and of these it may be safely said three-fourths are rejected, because there is no sufficient ground for admitting an appeal on any point of law." If such be the case, we can in this see no good ground either for abolishing the right of special appeal as Sir B. Peacock and others advise, or raising the minimum as Justices Loch, Hobhouse, and others propose. The remedy for such a state of things would appear a very simple one. At present no special appeal can be preferred without a *vakil* of the High

Court certifying that there are good grounds in point of law for such ; but from want of attention on the part of the Judges, the certificate must have become a mere matter of form. If the High Court insisted on the vakils doing their duty and exercising an intelligent discrimination in the cases they certified, a very remarkable improvement would take place. A vakil who certifies a thoroughly bad case does so either from ignorance or carelessness : in either event he deserves punishment, and might very justly be suspended from the exercise of his functions for a limited period.

When we come to Sir C. P. Hobhouse's remarks, we find special appeals attacked on somewhat different grounds ; the great cost to the parties is dwelt on. But there is no law that compels any one to prefer a special appeal ; the losing party may always, if he dreads the expense, sit still and be in no worse position than if there were no special appeal. If on the other hand a poor man finds himself unwillingly, after having succeeded in the lower courts, made a respondent in such a case, where the law was on his side, there *ought* to be no necessity for him to fee counsel to inform the Judges who try the special appeal that it is so. Judges of the High Court *ought* to be able "to hold their own" against even the *ex parte* arguments of an appellant's pleader and to disentangle his sophistical misapplications of the law, without the help of a second pleader. For every case the appellant quotes as an authority on his side, the Judges *ought* to be able to point out equally good cases, if there be such, on the other. Such is very far from being the case, we know, and it is in this way alone that a hardship is inflicted by the right of special appeal ; for it is the only way in which an unwilling party may be forced into expense. Could the successful litigant of the lower courts feel sure that the law would be equally correctly applied without his employing a pleader to support the decision already given, he might sit quietly at home and disregard the attacks of his adversary. Another of Sir C. P. Hobhouse's objections is, we think, equally unhappy. He objects in fact to special appeals, because they are not regular ones ; because the High Court cannot go into the facts as well as the law, and, strange to say, Mr. Justice PhEAR urges the same as an objection. To our minds the objection appears altogether futile. We can perfectly understand the expediency, in order to secure uniformity in the law, of appointing one central tribunal to declare what it is in the last resort ; and at the same time of refusing to burden that court with the duty of considering facts already settled by an inferior tribunal. Special appeals are provided, not so much in the interests of the litigants to a particular suit, as in that of the judicial administration generally throughout the country.

To support his peculiar views, Sir C. P. Hobhouse has drawn a

picture of a subordinate native court and of one presided over by a District Judge, in which he has reversed the fable of the lion and the painter. While the former is described as a perfect haven of capacity and legal attainments, the latter is the abode of ignorance and presumption. As, however, bearing on the question of sanctioning or abolishing the right of appeal, the picture is worthless. If the subordinate courts be such as Sir C. P. Hobhouse in his poetic fancy has described them, we have no doubt the appellate court would invariably agree with their finding. It is always much easier to say "I concur," than to hunt for reasons to uphold you in differing, and there is no obligation on a District Judge, before whom an appeal is preferred from one of these pattern Moonsiffs, to interfere with his decision: Before Sir C. P. Hobhouse's inference is justified, it must be shown that the law compels an appellate court to differ from the original one. If the High Court are really of opinion that the Moonsiffs and Sudder Ameen throughout the mofussil are such as Sir C. P. Hobhouse and Mr. Bayley depict, they should immediately issue a circular to all District Judges to warn them to be very careful how they reverse their findings of facts.

Justices L. Jackson and Phear, however, give a very different description of these courts which have so charmed the imagination of Sir C. P. Hobhouse. Mr. Jackson writes: "A certain proportion of the Moonsiffs everywhere must be officers of little experience, and with them inexperience is not merely the novelty of the judicial function, but entire unfamiliarity with business; for our Moonsiffs are commonly appointed fresh from college, and are consequently as new to the affairs of life as they are to office. Thus prepared for the Bench (now-a-days, I believe, with a good deal of undigested law in their heads), they are often planted in a small mofussil village, with no greater potentate at hand than the Police Inspector; no public opinion; no superior within visiting distance; surrounded by obsequious amlah and ignorant pleaders." Mr. Justice Phear, pointing out that the courts of first instance (i.e., the courts of Moonsiffs and other Native Judges, as statistics show) are not fit to take evidence, says—"They are unskilled in the art of trying suits. Most of the Judges of those courts have a very competent knowledge of law, but few, if any, know how to make the testimony of witnesses take such a shape as will serve to exhibit its intrinsic value. I might say that in 99 cases out of 100 imperfect examination and entire absence of cross-examination leave the case so bald of trustworthy material and so denuded of all circumstances that it is absolutely impossible for a court to found a satisfactory decision upon it, unless with such aid as is deducible from the behaviour of the parties themselves and the witnesses at the trial. But, unfortunately it is still too much the custom for the parties to the suit to keep away from

the court altogether, and generally it would be an abuse of terms to say that any one conducts the case on their behalf. The persons who act as advocates in the mofussil courts have as yet very little knowledge of the business of conducting a trial. Indeed, scarcely any of the courts themselves manifest a sense of the great importance of method in a judicial investigation, and by the practice of taking the examination of one or two witnesses on one day, as many more on another after a considerable interval of time" (how far is the High Court's view of the law on postponing cases for the attendance of witnesses who have failed to attend on the first day responsible for this practice?) "and so on, they deprive themselves in a large measure of the special advantages which attach to a properly conducted trial by oral testimony."

We cannot help thinking that there is a good deal of exaggeration about the legal acquirements and capacity of this Moonsiff of the period. Supposing the training vouched for by a Calcutta degree of B.L. or L.L. to be all that could be desired, yet the proportion of Moonsiffs that hold such degrees is altogether insignificant. We are quite alive to the probability that it will largely increase, and that before many years the vast majority of Native Judges will be compelled, before appointment, to produce some such certificate of fitness; but when we find the necessity of reform insisted on not from a purely theoretical point of view, but on the basis of actual experience, it would be as well to see what that experience has been in fact. Now, on the 1st January 1869, later than which Mr. Stephen's authorities cannot well date, the number of Moonsiffs who held any legal degree from the Calcutta University was twenty-three. The total number of Moonsiffs in the Lower Provinces, according to Mr. Stephen's table, was one hundred and eighty-four. Of the twenty-three, nineteen had received their appointments subsequent to January 1865; while the Calcutta University Calendar shows that of these, seventeen had been appointed Moonsiffs within two years (eleven within one year) of their obtaining degrees, so that they could have had no practical experience of legal proceedings when first promoted to the Bench. It is not unfair to assume that three-fourths were equally inexperienced in the ordinary affairs of the outside world. The majority must have been simply book-read striplings, capable, no doubt, of becoming useful public servants, but not exactly at that stage of their career, the class we should expect to work any very radical reform in an old-established system. We must decline, therefore, *in limine*, to credit the facts which Mr. Stephen's authorities assert of the great revolution that had been effected in the relation of District Judges to their subordinate courts. It would require a much longer period for even a vastly

larger proportion of much more highly qualified persons to change the character of an established judicial system.

But, when we consider what is the exact significance of a legal degree from the Calcutta University and compare the course of study required to attain it with that which civilians under the competition system are subjected to, we see no reason whatever to apprehend that the civilian will have the slightest difficulty in maintaining his superiority to the inferior courts when called to the office of District Judge. It was our idea that one of the first principles of English legal opinion was the worthlessness of mere book study of the law, and the assertion has been repeated *ad nauseum*, that except in the chambers of a practising barrister, or in actual practice as an advocate, no man can qualify himself in the legal profession. Mr. Stephen, indeed, all through this minute quietly assumes that there can be no such thing as true legal training except by practice as an advocate. We are therefore surprised to find him echoing the phrases of some High Court Judges about the regular legal training of the Subordinate Judges, as contra-distinguished from that which may be possessed by future Civilian Judges. We say *future* Civilian Judges because, of course, before any reform takes place, the remnants of the Civilians of the old school must be provided for without any very particular scrutiny into their qualifications, and whatever reforms may be decided on can never be intended to operate to their disadvantage. All such are meant to take effect on competition officials, whose claim to any appointment rests on their own merits alone. It is one of the greatest advantages of the competition system, and one not sufficiently noticed, this facility which it offers to reform. Under the old system the whole service was so intimately bound together that the senior members who constituted the advisers of Government could seldom carry out an improvement, or remedy an abuse, without trenching on the privileges or perquisites of nephews, sons, or sons-in-law, in whom they were nearly interested. This obstacle from self-interest has been removed by competition. No longer tied by personal connections to the junior members of the service, the seniors are able to discern with admirable clearness the defects and abuses that prevail in the various grades of appointments that are on the point of being filled up by competition men. Witness the ease with which, owing to this cause, the Financial Secretary, when threatened with a deficit, was, a couple of years ago, enabled to reduce acting allowances from 30 per cent. to 20 per cent., although only a few months before the rate had been settled by solemn compact. Under the old *régime* he would have been stopped by prejudices against what would have been styled a breach of faith. One is thus reminded of an army in retreat, which,

as soon as its own rear-guard has passed through, will burn without compunction a village, which it had spared as long as any benefit to its own troops could be secured thereby.

To return from this digression. We would point out that the civilians appointed under the present system have quite as good a claim, on their first arrival in this country, to the title of a regular legal training as any B.L. turned out by the Calcutta University. We have no doubt that they could with very little trouble (though the books they have studied may in some respects differ), if it were so ordered, pass immediately on landing the examination prescribed by the University for that magic distinction. The course of legal reading they have already gone through is, we believe, quite as extensive; and from early associations and previous education it must find with them a far better and more likely soil for further development than with any native of this country. It is grossly unfair, therefore, to represent, as is now so commonly done, the education of the Calcutta University as conferring upon the Bengali student a peculiar fitness for the judicial office and to deny or ignore the effects of a similar training on the English student.

While we are quite ready to allow the natural turn of the Bengali mind for legal pursuits, we would suggest, as the result of our experience, that the degree in which it is suited to the work of the Bench is in no way proportionate to its capacity for the Bar. As an advocate the Bengali vakil can pursue an argument with great subtlety and skill and bring forward every point that makes for his client, but he appears to be deficient in comprehensiveness and robustness of intellect, qualities so essential to a good judge to preserve him from being led astray by a specious difference, or rising at a gaudy sophism. Looking at the judgments of the most distinguished native judges, we fail to see any real balancing of the two sides of the case before them; the whole judgment has the air of a piece of special pleading for a foregone conclusion.

But quite beside this consideration of the relative qualifications which Moonsiffs and embryo District Judges possess on their first nomination to Government service, Mr. Stephen assumes as an indisputable fact that the only proper preparation for the Bench is to be found in actual practice at the Bar. We hope we shall not be accused of incorrigible obtuseness if we confess, that not being an English barrister, to us the self-evidence of the proposition is by no means clear. To look at the matter from a philosophical point of view, the requisites of a successful advocate appear to differ widely from those of an efficient Judge. Nine out of ten English barristers are advocates and nothing more who, as cases come before them, hunt up legal points in the

expediency of opening mofussil Judgeships to the Calcutta Bar and vakils, Mr. Stephen speaks of thereby admitting them to the legitimate "prizes of their profession." Such a mode of speaking is invidious. Where from long practice, as in England, the Bar has got the monopoly of the Bench, it may be considered a legitimate prize of the profession; where such a practice never has prevailed, the Bench is no more a legitimate prize of the barristers than it is of the attorneys. The legitimate prizes of the profession are the fees and remunerations which its members earn at the Calcutta Bar, and what a legal abortion he must be to whom a District Judgeship could be offered as prize. Judges are officers of Government, and it is perfectly open to the Government to determine that, instead of going into the market to fill vacancies as they occur, it will rear its own Judges. In a country like India where you must create your Bar before you select from it, such a mode of proceeding has obvious advantages. Granting that on his appointment the young Judge is as awkward with his first case as the young barrister with his first brief, we fail to see how he is placed in a worse position for improvement than the barrister. His attention is not confined to one side of the subject, for before decision he must make himself familiar with the arguments of both parties, and finish up by an independent research of his own. He becomes for the time the vessel into which the whole knowledge and erudition of both pleaders that bears on the subject in hand is poured. The habit of considering every question not merely in the interests of one party or the other, but with a sincere desire to discover the truth, must have a powerful educating influence on the mind. But in one respect he has a vast advantage over any barrister, inasmuch as he is always sure of practice. Where a barrister never handles a brief, he certainly can lay no claim to that "regular legal training" which is only to be had from practice; and where a man does not please the attorneys, it would be quite possible for him to spend five years at the Bar—the mystic period which is supposed to qualify for any appointment—without having actually conducted twenty cases. Now, if the same man had spent the five years as a petty Judge, he would at the least have had to try some two thousand cases. Granting even that from inexperience at the first he blundered most egregiously, we cannot doubt that at the end of the five years on the Bench he would have much better fitted himself to give satisfaction as a judicial officer, than by five years' newspaper reading in the Bar Library with the twenty cases sprinkled over it as seasoning. It is difficult, therefore, to understand why a training of fifteen years derived from the actual discharge of judicial functions should be considered so absolutely worthless. To be an engine-builder it is not necessary for a man to serve his time to a blacksmith. Though

busied with the same materials, the work of the former is different in character from that of the latter. When English barristers advance such pretensions, they forget that some of the most able and renowned Judges of Europe whose fame is far more widely spread than that of any English Judge sat upon the Bench without ever having practised at the Bar.

We would not for a moment be supposed to underrate the expertness in ordinary legal practice which may be acquired by a barrister who is kept supplied with work ; and where, as in England, the area of selection is very large in proportion to the appointments available, and the opinion of the Bar so powerful that a Government dare not appoint incompetent men to the Bench, we are quite ready to admit that the system of selection from the Bar has worked well. But on the other hand, it is not improbable that its success is in some degree owing to the very peculiar position of English Judges. Sitting serenely by to arbitrate between two legal practitioners who are thoroughly made up in the law and subject of the case and handing over all questions of fact and credibility of witnesses to a jury for decision is one thing ; but to be attorney, counsel, judge, and jury all rolled into one is a totally different. And when we hear barristers condemn so freely the shortcomings of mofussil courts, we sometimes indulge a wicked wish to see how they would themselves manage such work. The experiment might be made. In the next case called on in the High Court on the original side, the counsel for the plaintiff might simply say in opening—"My Lord, you will ascertain for yourself the facts from the witnesses my client will name, and I doubt not will correctly apply the law." To which the defendant's counsel might reply—"My Lord, the claim is false, the plaintiff a knave as your lordship will soon find from the witnesses my client will produce." A few months of such a mode of conducting cases would enable the Barrister Judges to understand a good deal better the nature of the reforms that are required in mofussil courts.

After a long discussion of the defects in judicial administration which in his opinion at present prevail, Mr. Stephen propounds, as was to be expected, his scheme for their remedy. "I would constitute," he writes, "in each division a civil and criminal court, of which the Civil and Sessions Judge should be President, and all the full-power Magistrates and Subordinate Judges *ex officio* members * * * * * The Commissioner of the division should exercise executive authority over these courts and in particular should convene them from time to time to dispose of business. Each court should consist of three members—the Judge and two full-power Magistrates for criminal cases—the Judge and two Subordinate Judges or other civil members for civil cases."

* * * * * The jurisdiction of the courts should be as follows :—

1—CIVIL COURTS.

“*Appellate Jurisdiction.*—From all inferior Courts from which an appeal lies in all cases which such courts are competent to entertain. The decision of the Court to be final, but they should have power in their discretion to state cases for the High Court.”

The effect of this would be to give the newly constituted court the jurisdiction which is at present exercised by the District Judge in all appeals under Rs. 5,000, and that of the High Court in regular appeals above that sum from the District Judge and all courts subordinate to him. The only guarantee for uniformity in the law administered by the various mofussil courts lies at present in the right of special appeal. This Mr. Stephen takes away, substituting in its place a permission to his division courts to state cases for the High Court. But suppose the Division Court strong in its own view declines to exercise this discretion, we may in a very short time find each Division enjoying its own peculiar interpretation of the law, in diametrical opposition to that of the neighbouring Division. When, moreover, all appeals to the High Court except those from the original side of the new Division Courts have been abolished, we can see nothing left for the High Court to do and its further existence becomes unnecessary.* In declaring the finding of this Division Court final, Mr. Stephen would seem to imagine he is introducing some new principle; but as has been already pointed out, at the present moment it is only on the ground of error in law that the decision of a District Judge on appeal can be impeached. Mr. Stephen's change then merely amounts to the abolition of special appeals and the referring regular appeals above Rs. 5,000 in value to the Division Court instead of to the High Court.

As a court of *original jurisdiction* the powers he confers would be identical with those of the present District Judge, an appeal lying in cases over half a lakh in value to the Privy Council instead of to the High Court. On the criminal side this new Court would have powers identical with those of the Court of Session, except that, where exercising original jurisdiction, its decision would be final. Nothing is said of sentences of death, and here again we find the work of the High Court taken away. On the other hand Mr. Stephen would enlarge the civil original jurisdiction of the High Court by allowing it to try certain cases on application from the parties. Such then is the latest novelty in judicial reform for India. To sum it up briefly, it simply amounts to abolishing special appeals and putting a District Judge

* *Vide* Judicial Statistics in note *supra*.

with two Subordinate Native Judges, or two Magistrates, as the case may be, to do the work which is at present performed by a District and Sessions Judge alone, giving, however, a finality to their decisions when sitting as an original criminal court. Such a conclusion to a minute of over a hundred closely printed pages reminds one of the half-penny worth of bread to the two gallons of sack.

Although not distinctly expressed in as many words, we understand it to be Mr. Stephen's scheme to supersede the existing thirty District and Additional Judges of Bengal by his eight Division Courts. Seeing that the civil judicial work of these officers is with the exception of four original cases per annum to each Judge purely appellate, and that the new courts would be the sole courts of appeal, this is the only intelligible meaning to be got from the minute. It is true Mr. Stephen says that he would not meddle with civil courts of first instance, and in strict law the District Judge's Court is one of these ; but, as we have shown already by figures from the judicial statistics of the province, it is so only in theory. If it were otherwise, District Judges could be furnished with work only at the expense of the Subordinate Judges and Moonsiffs. That such a change would be a great improvement on the present system we doubt not, but it does not appear to have been intended by Mr. Stephen. Whether it was or was not, is immaterial to the following remarks. If it were a fact that a court presided over by three Judges could do three times the amount of work that a court presided over by a single Judge can get through, ~~there might be some plausibility~~ in suggesting such an arrangement in divisions such as Bhagulpore and Chittagong consisting each of only three districts, but it must be obvious, on the slightest reflection, that a single Division Court would be altogether inadequate to meet the wants of divisions such as Burdwan and Berhampore. But we have yet to learn that three Judges can despatch business more expeditiously than a single Judge, unless, indeed, they adopt the plan for which there are said to be high precedents, of each Judge taking up a separate record and accommodating each other in turns with a mutual concurrence ; in every appeal two of the Judges knowing nothing whatever of the case in the decision of which they are so unanimous. Quite the contrary ; it would be nearer the truth to say that exactly ~~as~~ you increase the number of Judges in a court, you diminish the number of cases that can be disposed of in a given time. Supposing each of the Subordinate Judges who sits with the District Judge to compose this Division Court is a trustworthy conscientious man who forms his own opinion, instead of a mere *jo hulum* assessor, we do not believe that a court so constituted could dispose of more than one-third of the cases which are at present decided in the year by the District Judge. Mr. Stephen must

fancy that District Judges are for the most part idle, or he could never have made such a proposal as to improve the administration of justice in this way.

During the year 1869, the total number of civil appeals from the District Judges and courts subordinate to them disposed of were 17,578, all which would, under the proposed scheme, fall to the lot of the eight Division Courts. What prospect could there be of those eight courts overtaking such an amount of work? Even working as expeditiously as a single Judge, the utmost they could get through in the year would be under five thousand cases. When we add on the criminal cases that would come before them as courts of sessions and criminal appeal, it gives one a shock to think of the state to which one year of their existence would reduce the administration of justice throughout the country. To take only one division as an illustration, we assert without fear of contradiction that if such a court were established to-morrow in the Presidency division in lieu of the various courts of appeal that have at present jurisdiction therein, the arrears that would have accumulated before the end of the first month would be sufficient to occupy it unceasingly for the following ten.

It might seem a quite sufficient condemnation of any new scheme of Courts to point out that they could not dispose of one-tenth part of the cases that would come before them for decision; but there are other aspects also in which Mr. Stephen's suggestion appears hasty and ill-conceived. He has assumed that the presence with him on the Bench of two Subordinate Native Judges would strengthen the hands of the District Judge and entitle the decision of the court to more weight than that of a single judge. The experience that has already been acquired in criminal trials with assessors leads to a different conclusion. We have never heard that in the eyes of the public, of the parties to the prosecution or of the vakeels who practise in the court, the decision of a Sessions Judge agreeing with assessors was received with any greater respect than that of the Sessions Judge alone. It may of course be said that the Subordinate Native Judge will be a better educated and more intelligent person than assessors generally are; but then it should also be remembered he is a paid servant of Government immediately subordinate to the District Judge. His prospects can be materially affected by the opinion which even an inefficient and prejudiced Judge may express of him. Whatever superiority of intelligence and capacity he may possess over the unpaid assessor is more than counterbalanced by the relation of dependence in which he stands to the presiding Judge. To expect that men so circumstanced would venture to differ from the presiding Judge is to expect what, except in rare instances, we shall

not see in Bengal. Coadjutors such as these would be no real strength to any Judge; they would be mere civil assessors to a Judge on whose good opinion their daily bread depended, and a court so constituted would express merely the opinion of the presiding Judge. It is not for a moment to be believed that its decisions would carry any more respect than those of the Judge sitting alone. Such assessors in only one case can we conceive to be of any use, and that is to prop up some youthful barrister who having failed to make a position for himself at the Calcutta Bar, absolute want at last rendered willing to accept at the solicitation of friends in high places a mofussil Judgeship. Such a man, we admit, in complete ignorance of the language and customs of the people to whom he had to dispense justice, would have a better chance of concealing his incapacity with two such coadjutors than if he had to decide alone as District and Sessions Judge. In this one respect then as facilitating what Mr. Stephen euphemistically calls the improvement of the Mofussil Bench by the promotion to it of regularly trained barristers, but which others call by a shorter name, a court so constituted would be of advantage. The point which has been most insisted on and which Mr. Justice Phear particularly brings forward, is that the radical weakness of our present system lies in the courts of original jurisdiction, that is, the Native Moonsiffs' courts. Mr. Stephen has himself summed up the opinions of the Judges of the High Court in these words: "The fault of the system, as described by them, is in a word that it aims at curing a rotten foundation by an intricate and expensive superstructure." It would have been natural to expect that one who undertook to reform such a system would see the necessity of directing his attention to the foundation instead of peddling at the superstructure. Mr. Stephen leaves the foundation exactly as he found it; he pulls out half a dozen beams from the superstructure, takes the edges off one of them, shoves it back again in place of the six, and declares the whole building henceforward safe.

It will be remembered that this Minute commenced with a discussion of the advisability of dividing the Civil Service into a judicial and executive branch. The advocates of the division urged the necessity of affording future judicial officers an early opportunity of familiarizing themselves with such work and, in fact, acquiring the preliminary training, the absence of which is at present said to be the great weakness of Civilian Judges. In Mr. Stephen's reconstitution of the courts, we fail to see any provision for such training. There is no guarantee that the presiding Judge of his Division Court will be at all better qualified for the post than the present District Judge. He would seem to have given up the task of improving Civilian

Judges and to trust entirely to his supplementary proposal for allowing a selected number of civilians to practise at the Bar.

This proposal of appointing members of the Civil Service as Government advocates with the right of private practice would doubtless be very acceptable to some men who have a taste for legal pursuits, but how far it would succeed in providing recruits for the Mofussil Bench is another question. We venture to think that few men, who were at all successful in practice, would give up the excitement of forensic strife with the very substantial remuneration attached thereto for the monotonous grind of a District Judgeship. In the former capacity, as merely advocate, the civilian would be assured of, or at least have the means of compelling, a courtesy of treatment from the High Court which, as District Judge, he could not expect. The proposal is, moreover, based on the peculiar English fallacy that the only proper preparation for the Bench is to be found in practice as an advocate.

Mr. Stephen declines to discuss the effect which throwing open all judgeships to barristers and vakils, would have on the members of the Covenanted Civil Service; and thinks it quite sufficient to suggest such a measure, assuming that its own inherent merits will at once make themselves apparent to every one. For ourselves we must confess that the superiority of a barrister to a civilian is by no means so self-evident. Two-thirds of a mofussil Judge's difficulties are in the correct estimate of questions of fact, and insight into the credibility of witnesses. In another part of his Minute Mr. Stephen recognizes that for the efficient discharge of his duties the Judge must possess a knowledge of the customs, habits of thought, and language of the people. "I fully agree," he writes, "in short with the opinion expressed in many of the papers that the experience of the people, their ways, their character, and their language, which a district officer gains by his constant intercourse with them, is analogous to the experience which an English barrister gains of men and things by practice at the Bar before he is raised to the Bench, and that it would be as unwise and as injurious to judicial efficiency to make district officers into Judges before they had acquired that experience, as to make English barristers Judges before they had practised a competent time at the Bar." What opportunity a barrister practising in the Calcutta High Court has of acquiring this experience is nowhere shown. Mr. Stephen would seem to imagine that it comes naturally to any one who sets foot on the soil of India and breathes its fetid air. But the laws and customs under which natives of Calcutta live, and which are administered on the original side of the High Court, differ widely from those of the mofussil; and to the very last English barristers with the rarest exception, remain totally ignorant of the latter.

But, even if the case were otherwise, and a residence in Calcutta with practice at the original side of the High Court afforded as good opportunities for becoming familiar with the habits and language of the people as a mofussil civilian at present enjoys, what barrister of 15 years' standing — the average period of a civilian's service before he attains a Judgeship—would accept a District Judgeship? None but such as were helplessly, hopelessly incompetent. We may go much lower, and we are quite confident that no barrister of five years' standing at the Calcutta Bar who was at all successful, would barter his future prospects for such a poor equivalent. To adopt Mr. Stephen's own words applied to a different case, "a man who at that age is not succeeding may be said in most cases to have failed." In opening then District Judgeships to members of the Bar it is no competition with men of equal standing or capacity that Civilian Judges have to fear. The full-fledged birds will not deign to scramble for the crumbs that furnish the Civil Servants' meal; it is the downy legal goslings, too soft and foolish to procure abroad their own supplies, kind friends wish to provide for thus. Somewhat similar objections apply to the appointment of vakils, but of course in a much less degree, in so far as the position of District Judge would be to them an incredible rise in the social scale, but there is no space to go into this question. There is one, however, peculiar to them which Mr. Stephen has altogether overlooked. At present vakils are confined to the appellate side of the High Court: the consequence is, a man may attain the highest point of his profession without having ever seen an original case tried. His position as a vakil affords no guarantee that he ever has. Whatever may be said, therefore, of the knowledge of practice and legal training a practising barrister can acquire by attending trials on the original side of the court, there cannot be the slightest pretence for assuming that a vakil, whose sole business up to that has consisted in worrying a record and trying to twist its contents into a form most favourable to his client, will have any knowledge whatever as to the proper course of procedure. How, therefore, the promotion of such men to Judgeships will effect an improvement in the state of things described by Mr. Justice Phear, remains a mystery.

But while we have thus merely hinted at a few of the most patent objections to Mr. Stephen's scheme even as he has himself stated it, we must insist that the proposal is one which never can be properly considered apart from its effect on the Covenanted Civil Service and the Uncovenanted Judicial Service. These services have been constituted on a distinct and definite principle, namely, that the higher offices shall be filled by men who have passed successfully through the lower. It was open to the Government to have adopted a different principle and to go into the open market

for candidates as each office fell vacant. Instead of recruiting the Bench from the advocates who practise in the courts, it determined to adopt the system that prevails in most civilised countries, as was perfectly lawful for it to do. If that system has proved a failure, let the whole matter be reconsidered by competent authority and the two services abolished, due regard being shown to the rights and expectations of all present incumbents. But let us have no such attempts to graft upon it an altogether incompatible system. While maintaining the Civil Service in name, by filching away the appointments that give it a value you destroy it in reality. With some hundred members below the grade of Joint-Magistrate, the appointment of even a single outsider to a District Judgeship would be no slight loss, and the injury thus done to the general administration by the discontent and dissatisfaction it would excite, would more than counterbalance the advantage gained by the appointment of even a superior man.

When advocating the demolition of restrictions that have been deliberately adopted for good reasons to confine within particular limits the area of selection for superior appointments, would-be reformers invariably urge the expediency of securing the best man for the post ; as if, at any moment, it was the simplest thing in the world to say among some thirty or forty candidates who is the best man. They would wish us to forget that in nine cases out of ten, even supposing he could know it, the authority entrusted with the appointment has no desire to appoint the best man. Persons in high office have a way of interpreting "best man" to mean the man in whom they are most nearly interested. It is seldom, however, a reformer himself furnishes us with such a distinct explanation of his meaning as Mr. Stephen has done. During the brief *interregnum* on Lord Mayo's assassination, when his influence in the Governor-General's Council was paramount, it is well known what were the qualifications that he held to mark out the fittest man for the Advocate-Generalship of Bengal. It is drawing too deeply on our trust in human nature to expect us to believe that successors would be more scrupulous in the obscurity of mofussil districts than our able and disinterested reformer was in Calcutta itself, under the full blaze of criticism from both Press and Bar. Mr. Stephen has deliberately declared that the maintenance of the district officer is essential to our hold of the country ; how long will it be possible to procure district officers such as he requires if the reward to which they have been taught to look forward is dragged from their mouths by the latest innovation from England ? Whether the maintenance of the Covenant-ed Civil Service be or be not essential to the good government of the country, satisfied we are that to maintain it in name and at the same time alter it in character and status by removing, bit

by bit, all that made it valuable, is mischievous in the extreme. Much better do away with it at once. To our own knowledge the uneasiness and disgust caused by Sir C. Wood's Bill in 1861, and the tone in which the position of the Civil Service was then discussed, caused several young men, who were reading in different Universities for the competitive examinations with a good prospect of success, once for all to give up the idea of an Indian career. Few competition men, we fancy, with ten years' experience of the country and the treatment to be expected here, would (except in the case of natural incapacity or downright poverty) allow a son or near friend to think of the Indian Civil Service as a profession. It is one of those one-sided compacts where he must engage for everything—life, time, talents—and nothing is guaranteed to him, all appointments being at the best held *dum placet regi*.

ART. III.—THE PROPOSED COLLEGE FOR THE CIVIL SERVICE.

Il est très-sérieusement question de fonder à Londres un collège spécial pour les jeunes gens qui se destinent au service civil dans l'Inde. Ce nouvel établissement remplacerait le collège d'Haileybury, si regretté des orientalistes. Déjà le collège du génie civil indien, précurseur de celui-ci, est en plein exercice.—

La langue et littérature hindoustani en 1871, par M. Garcin de Tassy, p. 7.

FROM time to time during the past decade, there has been mooted the scheme alluded to in the above extract—the establishment of a college in which the future members of the Indian Civil Service should be trained for their duties. So long as the project was advocated only by those who were powerless to execute it, no discussion was needed. But the speech of the Secretary of State for India, made at the recent distribution of prizes in the Cooper's Hill College, appears to indicate, however obscurely, that the matter either is, or soon may be, under Ministerial consideration. The time is therefore come, when to point out the objections to any such college being founded, will not be a waste of words. And we propose in the present article to appreciate the relative advantages and disadvantages which would result from its foundation.

We do not intend to touch upon the vexed question of the merits of the competition system. It is enough to observe that it was devised by able men after careful reflection; that it has provided India with officers who are, in the opinion of a judge* both competent and impartial, "much better educated than their predecessors;" that it has been extended to the Public Works Department; and that at home it has, after many years of bitter opposition, been deliberately adopted both for the Civil Service and the Army. Since then the upper classes in England have been thus deprived of their privilege of providing for their offspring at the expense of the State, it may safely be assumed that they will not be able to recover what they were unable to retain. Providence will no doubt still continue to manifest that painful want of consideration towards men in high position, which so often gives them sons with no more talent than their sires; and these will be unable to enter the services by the prescribed portal. But though we condole with the victims we can hold out to them but little hope. For good or for evil, political power has passed to the

* *Minute on the Administration of* Hon'ble J. Fitzjames Stephen, p. 104.
Justice in British India, by the

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lower middle classes. Ignorant, selfish and venal these may be. But of all those who have inveighed against them,—and they are many,—not one has ever ventured to deny their keen perception of their own interests. They have won in the struggle, and they will naturally enforce the maxim, that to the victors belong the spoils of the vanquished. Whether good or bad, therefore, the present open and democratic method of selection is little likely to be replaced by one exclusive and aristocratic.

That there are defects in the present system will be readily admitted, and by none more readily than by those who, like the present writer, differ from the Duke of Argyll by considering it, not merely the best, but the only practicable manner of appointment yet suggested. His Grace affirms that such a college as Cooper's Hill would be "a means of counteracting the evils of the system." As will be seen, we hold a very different opinion. And if in an exposition of our own view, we seem to be in part going again over ground on which many a battle has already been delivered, we must crave indulgence, since it is not possible to estimate the influence of the college upon the alleged evils, without to some degree discussing the evils themselves.

Perhaps it would be as well, before discussing the subject seriously, to refer here to the time-honoured, traditional taunt, that junior civilians are not gentlemen and cannot ride. To the former part it might be enough to reply that even were it true, it is not to bow with grace or interchange compliments, that they are selected, but to dictate orders and administer justice. Yet we grant that the circumstances of their arrival are not such as to show their social qualities to advantage. Sudden transportation (with the knowledge that it will be for the best years of life), from some gay European capital where the student has been accustomed to meet clever men and pretty women, to that penal colony, a mofussil station, is very trying. In all societies the imbeciles form a majority, in Indian society a large majority. But while in Europe they can be avoided, in India they cannot, and it is impossible for the new comer to always veil his contempt. He is crushed by the magnitude of his calamity, and any social graces he may possess, only begin to unfold themselves again as hope dies away, and he becomes resigned to the inevitable. Allowance too must be made for his critics. Men are rarely tolerant of what they do not understand, and time must elapse before those whose fetish has long been position destitute of intellect, can perfectly reconcile themselves to the startling novelty of position combined with intellect. But there is really no ground for despair. Anglo-Indians, owing to their contact with natives, are deeply imbued with servility to what is high, and veneration for what is customary. And these feelings will slowly efface their asperity. Those who considered the Assistant as

a clownish upstart, will be among the foremost to fawn on him as Collector, and to toady to him as Commissioner. In fact the Assistant rarely waits so long before he enjoys the exquisite gratification of being pronounced by men with a tenth of his sense and a twentieth of his talent, to be "not so bad after all," or as "really appearing to have something in him." We presume, however (since we hear it so often), that there was a period when the class was excluded from the dismal dinners of Indian society. Nay, we cling to the belief with a passionate fondness, finding in the charms of the past some solace for the terrible realities of the present. Often has one been soothed by dreams of that Arcadian time, after returning from funereal feast, where the conversation was as chill as the wine was warm, and the women as grim as the men were stupid. Alas, scarce has the blissful vision melted into thin air before there comes another awful missive, "requesting the pleasure," &c., and one rises with an insane impulse to immediately go forth and commit some social sin of a dye so deep, that thenceforward one shall never again be permitted to share the banquets of the immortals. Ah happy, happy days, when we were not admitted to these ghastly entertainments! Ah golden age, for ever fled!

Again, as to riding. We have not noticed that the juniors are in this country as much addicted to palkies as their more corpulent seniors. They ride about as well, or as ill, as the non-professional classes at home, and that is quite sufficient for all practical purposes. True, they do not ride as gracefully as those who are attached to a travelling circus or a cavalry regiment. But then the trade of these classes is to ride, that of the civilian to rule. Much in fact of the ridiculous talk about equitation is due to that curious national conceit, that every Englishman can manage a horse; a conceit resting upon about as much substructure of truth as its sister superstition, that no Englishman is ever sea-sick. The number of riders in Western Europe, excluding, of course, professional riders, is really a very small fraction of the population. It is probably larger in England than elsewhere, partly owing to the greater wealth, which enables more men to keep horses, partly owing to the nature of the country, which interposes none of those obstacles to equitation which are to be found in some other parts of Europe; but even in England the proportion is still a small one. It is however the less necessary to dwell on this point as the defect is now generally dilated upon only by some apoplectic warrior across the table, at whose thickening accents as he sips his after-dinner sherry, it is not always easy to restrain a smile. The fancy involuntarily pictures to itself the immeasurable benefits which, in case of mutiny, would accrue to the State from that portly paunch careering wildly over the country, shouting out unintelligible orders in incomprehensible Hindustani.

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Even granting, however, that the ideal civilian is a gentleman rider, the foundation of a college will scarcely promote the attainment of that ideal. Few will contend that a large and expensive institution should be established, in order to teach some three or four dozen young men a year how to ride. If greater proficiency in that art be desirable, it can be had by getting a competent person to see and test the candidate's riding, in place of accepting the mere certificate of the trainer that the pupil he has trained is well trained. Gentlemanliness again cannot be taught. It or its opposite, is acquired by intercourse with other people, especially those round a man at his own home. If the students of the college merely meet in the rooms during lectures, the influence exercised on their manners will be inappreciable. But if residence be enforced, then the tone of the college will of course be that of the majority of the inmates. And as we are assured that the great bulk of these are anything but gentlemen, it would seem unwise to expose the gentlemanly minority to such great peril of contagion.

Passing then from those of the current objections which are frivolous, we come to two which have some basis in fact. The first of these is that the system fosters "cramming," about which much idle complaint is made. This process of preparation is undergone more or less by every competitor, in every examination, at every University in the kingdom. It is simply the mental analogue of the physical training to which the prize fighter is subjected before he enters the ring, and must vary in duration and severity as the examination to be passed is more or less difficult. Hence it is that the Universities and public schools have ceased to educate for the Indian Civil Service. To do so would be to adopt, for the benefit of a comparatively small class of students, a high-pressure method of working, which would be unnecessary for the others, and which it would therefore be impolitic, nay wrong, to attempt. How severe is the strain required by this examination, may be inferred from the statement of so eminent an authority as Sir William Gull, who says that success is only attainable by those endowed with a strong physical organisation, to endure the intense preliminary labour.* That this is so, is doubtless to be regretted. But it is one of those evils which must be passively acquiesced in.

* We may note that those who assert that the Civil Servants of to-day are inferior in physique, are flatly contradicted by the same high authority, who has medically examined all the selected candidates since the introduction of the new system. We have not referred to this theory in the text, since that it is advanced at all, is merely a curious instance of

the "survival" of a mental type belonging to primitive barbarism. Civilised nations, in selecting their rulers, have long since ceased to be actuated by the principle which guided the Hebrew hordes, when they chose Saul, the son of Kish, for their king, because "from his shoulders and upward he was higher than any of the people."

As long as the number to be selected is limited, so long must the standard of examination be regulated by the acquirements not of the least, but of the most advanced of the students, who present themselves. And this being so, we fail to see how the proposed college will remove the evil. If the object of the institution is to prepare students for the open competition, it will be but one cramming-shop the more. And its success may well be doubted. For while the private crammers, whose livelihood depends on their success, will strain every nerve, the college will be conducted by men sure of their salary in any case, and therefore very much less interested in the result. The proposal, however, to set up at the public cost a mere rival training school, is one so absurd, that we shall throughout this article assume, that the intention is to found a college for candidates already selected. But on this assumption, cramming will be in nowise affected. For the tests which succeed selection are all mere pass examinations, devoid of difficulty, and for which no one ever dreams of cramming.

There remains the gravest of the objections generally made. It is said that the present officials have a less intimate acquaintance than their predecessors with the feelings of the natives, and a greater lack of sympathy with them. And this, though sometimes overstated, is substantially true. The darkest cloud in the political horizon of India is the ever-growing ignorance of the rulers in respect to the ruled. But that this ignorance is not due to the competition system, is apparent. Uncovenanted and military civilians, who are appointed on quite another system, are at least as ignorant as covenanted civilians of the same standing. Its cause must be sought in the immense increase of work, unaccompanied by an equivalent increase of the official staff. Every officer has now far more than he can hope to do; this leaves him no leisure and makes inquiry impossible. Accurate information in respect to native feelings, however, it would still be possible to secure, by reducing, through the appointment of numerous native judges, the work of the European officers to something like what it was in the last generation, perhaps a fourth of what it now is. Much might be done even by abolishing the present system of constant and purposeless transfers, which by rendering it difficult for an officer to know his district, indisposes him to make the attempt. But sympathy between the two races it is, we fear, hopeless to look for, and this from many reasons. Social intercourse leads to friendly feeling and sympathy only when it takes place either between men whose mental development and social position are equal, or between men of whom the one stands to the other in the relation of unquestioned superiority and patronship. From the former condition springs all the kindliness of modern Europe. But it was the latter relationship which underlay and gave rise to all the

sympathy between different classes, which existed in Europe during the feudal period, and in India till yesterday. Nowadays, however, the native is becoming, rightly or wrongly, not merely less and less dependent, but more and more unwilling to acknowledge his dependence, while the European officer is more highly educated than at any preceding period. Intercourse consequently is becoming year by year more rare; less pleasurable to the officer, less profitable to the native. Not all the efforts of the Educational Department can bridge this gulf, already well nigh impassable, and widening rapidly from day to day. There is too, between the governors and the governed, the memory of the great mutiny. Neither Englishman nor native has ever forgotten or forgiven that foul and treacherous revolt, nor the barbarous cruelties which accompanied its suppression. It shattered all trust, and for ever; and without trust there can be but little sympathy. So too the more rapid and frequent communication with Europe has turned the eyes of the Englishman ever homeward; and it snapped the most powerful bond of all between the races, when it supplanted the native mistress by the European wife. Yet, if a score of Civil Service Colleges were founded, they would not lessen an officer's work in India, they would not obliterate the sanguinary memories of the mutiny, they would not destroy the Overland Route, they would not rehabilitate the old morality.

We have thus enumerated the objections most frequently raised against the competition system, and we have attempted to show that those objections will be left unaffected by the institution of a college. It is, however, eminently unsatisfactory to be confined to a merely negative demonstration. Yet, as the advocates of the measure have not, so far as we know, formulated their views in any accessible document, we shall have to briefly sketch what the education of a civilian should be, and then inquire whether a new college is needed to provide that education.

We are not disposed to quarrel with the present curriculum: Roman, English, and Indian law; two of the modern languages of India; political economy; and Indian geography and history. The sole subject which we should desire to remove from this well-selected course is the last. The educational value even of European history is very slight; but that of Indian history is almost *nil*. Before we brought the country under one umbrella, the oriental drama had but one set of characters and one set of events. Royal voluptuaries, cruel tyrants, luxurious courts, predatory hordes, ruined cities, desolated provinces,—these form the history of India. They recur in innumerable kaleidoscopic recombinations, but the gaudy-coloured factors are ever the same. It is the restless turmoil of an anthill; there is perpetual movement, but no progress. To study it, is interesting but not profitable; and to inflict a dozen

volumes of Mill, Elphinstone and Marshman, on a student whose whole two years are all too short to fit him for his duties, is surely wrong. A very brief manual would teach him all that will be of use to him. If he care about Indian history, he will continue the study in the country where he will have around him the peoples of whom he reads; if he do not care about it, he will simply at once forget all that, in order to pass, he has been compelled to learn.

But the remaining course is indispensable. It is in administering the law that three out of four of the civilian's working hours are to be spent, and it is difficult to imagine a more scientifically designed training than that which he now undergoes. The principles on which all systems of law are based, he acquires from the works of the Roman jurists and from those of Bentham, Austin, and Maine. The manner of practically working a legal system is laid bare to him by his enforced attendance at the English law courts. Finally, the study of the Indian Codes, and of Macnaghten, supplies him with the laws in accordance with which his own decisions must be pronounced. It would have been singular had so admirable a curriculum failed of its object. And it is therefore not surprising to learn from Mr. Stephen, that it is in legal training that the superiority of the new over the old civilians is most conspicuously manifested.

That the legal knowledge of the civilian judge is not, as a rule, equal to that of a barrister, is true. But the reason is plain. It is mostly clever young London students who supply both professions. But while the barrister generally devotes his undivided attention to law for four years before he is called, the civilian can give but a part of his attention to it, and that for only two years. We are the more desirous to point this out, as we were sorry to notice in Mr. Stephen's able minute, what seems a faint disparagement of the science of jurisprudence, and a half-expressed wish to abolish that portion of the present training of civilians. To do so would, in our opinion, be a fatal error. Next to the capacity to distinguish between truth and untruth, the faculty of applying abstract principles is the most valuable quality in a judge. And the proportionate importance of this faculty is ever on the increase. To quote the words of Mr. Maine,* "social necessities and social opinion are always more or less in advance of law, and however near we may come to the closing of the gap between them, it has a perpetual tendency to reopen." And in a society so progressive as ours, social necessities and opinion advance so rapidly that panting law toils after them in vain. The proportion of cases, therefore, is perpetually increasing which must be decided, not by the light of any positive enactment, but by the general principles of the science,

* *Ancient Law*, p. 24.

and by the analogical interpretation of existing laws. That is, the relative values of a knowledge of what the law is, and a knowledge of why the law is so, are surely, though slowly, being inverted. Whence then, we would ask, is the judge to derive the power of being able to speak when the law is silent, save from a more careful study of the science of jurisprudence? Fortunately, this point is capable of more than a merely theoretical demonstration. There exists a body of men who possess an accurate knowledge of the law, but have never received any training in legal principles. And those who are best acquainted with native practitioners in mofussil courts, will be the first to call to mind the singular inequality of their pleading. With the letter of the law they are probably more familiar than the judge himself. Their keenness in detecting minute inaccuracies is sometimes marvellous. But as soon as the advocate, who has just been citing acts and circulars with astonishing fluency, comes to touch upon some point in regard to which nothing is written, his reasoning becomes deplorably childish.

Good, however, as is the present legal training of civilians, it is already becoming inadequate. And as the law becomes more and more defined and exacting, and the proportion between the number of the population and the number of cases instituted rises in this country to what it is in England (a result to which the increased knowledge of the natives is rapidly tending), a point will be speedily reached where the present system must break down. It is very rare to find a man who can properly perform the infinitely varied administrative work necessary in India, and at the same time properly fulfil all judicial duties, under a system of law constantly increasing in refinement. That enough of such men can be found to fill the service, is an idle dream. The judicial and executive branches must consequently be separated at no distant date; and it may be added, that a perverse refusal on the part of the civilians to recognise the fact that as work increases division of labour must be resorted to, will only lead to their entire exclusion from a judiciary for which they will not have fitted themselves. The separation, we think, should be effected in London, so as to allow of a longer training for the judicial branch. We are aware that many would like to delay the separation for some years, urging that the native inside and outside of our courts is a different being, and that it is desirable to see something of him outside of the courts. It is of course possible that a native may lie less to a European out of court, than to the same European in it, since it is absolutely impossible that he should lie more. But this is scarcely relevant. Every civil officer in India is indebted almost exclusively to what takes place in his own court, for his knowledge of the natives; it is in the struggles there, that character is most clearly revealed, not in the courtly compliments employed in a brief and

formal private interview. And as regards visiting, it should be remembered that a judicial officer, on leaving his court, does not retire to Europe on a magic carpet till the next morning. Except a month or six weeks spent in camp in some years in the cold weather, the one officer would have no more contact with natives than the other. Camping is doubtless useful. But it should be taken into account that owing to press of work all the officers cannot get into camp every year, and even when they can they are still surrounded by their court underlings. This slight and casual advantage then is all that there is to set off against the grave disadvantage, that if the separation be delayed, all the candidates must leave Europe after the same training. If that training be of the present short duration, then no improvement in judicial knowledge can be expected, nor can the candidates be called to the bar. If the training be lengthened, then, as regards the half which will ultimately adopt the executive branch, the expense of preparing instruments which will never be used, will be added to the cost of an already too expensive service; while as regards the half which will adopt the judicial branch, by burdening them for several years with miscellaneous and executive duties, we shall have deliberately blunted the instruments it cost so much to sharpen.

We have dwelt long, perhaps too long, on this part of the student's education. But our excuse must be, that in the present condition of our Eastern Empire, the study of law is of all studies the most important. As to the other requisites we shall be less tedious. Next in importance to a knowledge of the law, is a knowledge of the vernacular such as to be able to expound that law clearly and fluently. In this, too, the present course needs no improvement. The candidate receives a thorough grammatical grounding, and is introduced to the best literary works in the languages in ordinary use in his presidency. He consequently soon after landing gains a conversational familiarity with them, and in this respect exception can rarely be taken to civilians.

The instruction too in political economy is careful, though the *Wealth of Nations* might well be removed from the list of works prescribed. It has been styled by an able thinker* "the most important book that has ever been written," but it is not adapted for a text-book. In M'Culloch's edition, half of the book is occupied by appendices and notes rectifying errors in the text. Subsequent progress has, in fact, relegated Adam Smith's great work from the position of an authoritative exposition of the science, to that of a venerable landmark in its history. A book declared by the foremost writer† on the subject, to be "in many parts obsolete,

* Buckle's *History of Civilisation*, Chapter iv.

† Mill's *Principles of Political Economy*. Preface.

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and in all imperfect," is not the one that should be chosen with which to begin the study. The admirable manuals of Professor Fawcett or Professor Thorold Rogers, or Bastiat's *Harmonies Economiques*, should be substituted for it. We believe, indeed, that one or two of these books would suffice. Adequately to study the masterpiece of Mr. Mill, requires an inordinate portion of the student's very limited time. And any of the smaller books would be enough to teach all that the majority of the candidates will ever need. Little is wanted, save to eradicate the belief, so easily engendered in the mind of every official, that Government is omnipotent for good or for evil, by tracing the very narrow bounds within which its power is confined; and to destroy the desire for perpetual interference and regulation, which naturally springs from that belief, by showing that when Government oversteps its proper limits, the result is always pernicious, often disastrous.

It is these three subjects, law, political economy, and the vernaculars, which, under any system of selection whatever, must constitute the essentials of the special subsequent education of the candidates selected. Before founding an expensive college to be paid for out of Indian revenues, it is, we think, incumbent on the proposers to show both that the present colleges afford insufficient facilities for learning these subjects, and that the proposed college will afford superior facilities. And we venture to think that they can show neither the one nor the other. It is, perhaps, as well to note that the assertion, that at present candidates can learn if they wish, but that some of them won't learn unless they are supervised and kept to work, is totally irrelevant. The remedy for that is a sharp one, quite in the hands of the Civil Service Commissioners, and not suffered to fall into disuse. Candidates who either through indolence or through distaste for Indian studies, fail to come up to the prescribed standard, are remorselessly rejected.

Is it then the fact that proper instruction in these subjects cannot be obtained? Nothing can be further from the truth. Jurisprudence and political economy are taught, and as a rule, well taught, at every University in Christendom. The same is the case with Sanskrit, Arabic, and Persian. The replies made by the English, Scotch and Irish Universities to the enquiries addressed to them by the Civil Service Commissioners on this very question, show that in every one of them admirable teaching can be had in English and Indian law, and in the modern languages. And in London, where most of the candidates spend their time, there are, besides two colleges, the Inns of Court to teach law, and numbers of moonshees to teach the languages.

What want then is there which will be filled by the college?

Or is it even likely to do the same work in a better way? Emphatically not. Dear bought experience has enforced the truth, that when Government manages an institution, it will in all probability be mismanaged, even if at first it had the fairest prospects. But the proposed college would not start with such prospects. The worth of such a college would depend upon the eminence of its Professors. Does any one suppose that the ambitious scholars of the present day, men of European name and fame, would for anything short of impossible salaries, resign their appointments and devote themselves to the humble task of teaching a couple of score of striplings in a nameless academy? Would Professor Weber leave Berlin to teach them Sanskrit, or M. Garcin de Tassy, Paris, to teach them Hindustani? Nay, to confine ourselves to the kingdom. Would Professor Max Müller, who refused the request so flattering to his patriotic pride, to exchange his chair at Oxford for one at the venerable University of Strasbourg, be likely to undertake the task of instructing a few youths at a petty seminary for the service of a foreign Government? We think not. At least we know with what quiet contempt that laborious genius, for whose recent decease the majority philology is still mourning, declined even to set the examination papers.* Would Sir H. S. Maine relinquish his present brilliant position to impart the elements of jurisprudence, or Dr. Wright abandon the British Museum to inculcate the rudiments of Arabic? Few will be sanguine enough to reply in the affirmative. No, the truth simply is, that first class men would not care for such professorates. We are therefore thrown back upon second-rate teachers, and the college would doubtless ultimately become an asylum for indigent and broken-down Anglo-Indians, desirous of scraping together a few more rupees.

But it is sometimes argued that in the interests of oriental learning such a college is desirable. If this be so, then let that be candidly put forward as the ground for its foundation, not the dishonest pretence that it is needed to educate civilians. It is scarcely worth discussing whether oriental learning would or would not be advanced by the college, since even if it would, it is quite certain that, in the present state of the finances, the wishes

* We may be permitted here to express a hope, that Dr. Cowell will not delay to publish the Sanskrit Grammar, left in manuscript by Professor Goldstücker. It is doubtless imperfect, for nothing finished could ever proceed from a man whose revision of his work was simply endless, and whose love of accuracy and

carefulness was positively painful, being carried to such lengths that he would have regarded a misplaced comma on his toned and gilt-edged paper as a sin, and a slip of the pen as a crime. None the less would its publication be the greatest of boons to all who feel an interest in Sanskrit.

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of orientalists could scarcely be consulted. For our part, however, we do not think such assistance needed. Oriental studies have long since outgrown their infancy, when State aid was indispensable. They are being prosecuted more vigorously, and in more manifold directions, than ever before. And were money to be granted, we think it would be less wisely spent in founding chairs than in forming libraries. For the latter end MSS. should be purchased at favorable opportunities (such as the recent famine in Persia), and subventions made towards publishing valuable and expensive works, the sale of which must be too limited to justify their publication on purely commercial principles. Find the books and the students will find themselves. Or, if England with all her wealth and her intimate connection with the East, fail to furnish the latter in sufficient numbers, the task may be left with safety, though also with shame, to another nation less wealthy, but more erudite and more disinterested. And the students of to-day are the professors of to-morrow.

We have, indeed, heard it used as an argument, that such a college would publish translations of many German books of great worth. But in addition to the fact, that it is not necessary to found a college in order to do what could be done by a few competent translators on £100 a year, we consider it no part of the business of Government to publish such translations. To publish original works containing new and valuable information is one thing, and for such a purpose we should be disinclined to grudge any reasonable sum. But to publish English transcripts of facts already recorded in a well-known European tongue is quite another thing, and is merely a waste of money to save idlers from the consequences of their idleness. Not only would it be impracticable to translate all that teems from the myriad learned societies of Germany, but the advantage of doing so, even were it practicable, is yearly lessening, as more and more Englishmen study German. Indeed, to attempt any oriental study in these days, without knowing German, is much like trying to walk with only one leg : some movement is possible, but it is slow and painful.

Let it not for a moment be understood that we wish to disparage the value, to a Government servant in India, of oriental scholarship. There is no description of knowledge, of which it can be safely predicated, that in a country such as this, it will never stand the Government in good stead. And it is much to be desired that amongst the servants of the State, there should be a certain number of able linguists. But in their case it is only the foundations that can be laid in Europe. The superstructure must be built up here. And the orders headed "rules for the encouragement of the study of oriental languages by the members of the

Bengal Civil Service,"* might with much more propriety be entitled rules for the discouragement of such study. Not only must the officer report his intention three months beforehand, and obtain leave of absence from the Local Government, but he must go down to Calcutta, perhaps a thousand miles off; and even then he is not permitted to be examined in whatever language he may prefer. In place of being only too glad that he should devote his scanty leisure to any Eastern language of use in his presidency, the Government prescribes the succession in which he may take them up, and that succession is curiously absurd. Thus an Oudh officer must on no account be examined in Hindi—the language of more than 11 millions out of the twelve millions who inhabit the province—unless he has previously passed in Urdu, which is the language of less than a million, or in Persian, which is not spoken by any class. So, too, an officer may be stationed at Delhi, round which cluster the memories of the Mahābhārata, or at Ajuddhia, the home of the hero of the Rāmāyana, but if he study Sanskrit, he must do so without reward, unless under the same restriction. If the Government really desire that civilians should become orientalists, these frivolous and vexatious restrictions must be swept away. An officer must be at liberty to choose what language he likes for examination, and the quarterly tests should take place alternately in Calcutta and say Agra or Allahabad. At present, in many cases, the cost of the return journey and of the sojourn in the metropolis, can scarcely be estimated at less than a month's pay, while even if in a vernacular language a prize be gained, it is only two months' pay. There is, too, one other foolish and narrow-minded rule, the abolition of which would probably double the number of students. An officer may hoard up three months of privilege leave, may then get a month's leave for his examination, and if successful, may be granted another month, making five months continuous absence from duty. But the framer of the leave rules appears to have thought, that to take the five months in the opposite order, first examination and then privilege leave, would imperil the empire. Accordingly an officer must travel up from Calcutta or elsewhere at the close of his two months' examination leave, in order to solemnly report himself at his station; although half an hour afterwards he may be travelling back again on his way to Europe, on three months' privilege leave. This is of course a relic of the old prohibitions against going home. But as the policy which dictated those prohibitions has at length been abandoned, we trust that this last vestige of it (which, while saving neither

* We speak only of the Bengal in the other Presidencies. rules, being ignorant of those in force

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time nor money as regards the State, wastes both as regard its servants) will speedily disappear.

A college is however sometimes advocated on the ground that if it does nothing else, it will at least further morality, save the mark, among the students. It is hard to perceive how the morality of civilians differs from that of ordinary mortals, even though an irate surgeon has been good enough to call them "abandoned intellectual reprobates."* In comparison with other men, we should have thought that a class of men in whom a large proportion of the total sum of vital energy was drained away by the needs of an active brain, would excel in purity of life those classes in which the proportion so absorbed was less; and we could scarcely have imagined that the present generation of civilians, who frequently come out married, could have been unfavourably contrasted with the former generation, who on their arrival contracted native connections. To practical men, however, it will probably appear enough if the morality of the Service is not beneath the ordinary level. And to those who have grasped Buckle's demonstration, that the advance of civilisation depends not upon morality, but upon intellect,—the former being in itself stationary, the latter progressive,—the matter will appear indifferent. But as many men are neither practical nor readers of Buckle, it is better to point out that experience does not favour the belief, that to coop up a small number of young men under severe restraint, tends to develop morality. The country where the theory has been most extensively put in practice is France. ~~Yet Adolphe and Gustave after all their~~ rigid discipline both at the *lycée* and the *collège*, would scarcely be considered valuable acquisitions by any virtuous community. Of course the assumption can be made, that this is due to some mysterious and innate propensity to vice on the part of Frenchmen. But those who recollect what was unveiled a few years back at Sandhurst will smile at the assumption, and continue to believe that similar systems produce similar results, whether the country in which they are enforced be France or England. At present most of the candidates reside with their parents or friends. No better arrangement in respect to morality can be imagined. And the proposal is one which will scarcely be supported by any honest man, that for the benefit of the residue, the people of India are to be saddled with a heavy charge. And all for what? To make

* *Competition and the Civil Service.* By Dr. G. C. M. Birdwood. On reading this rabid little pamphlet we quite sympathised with the exclamation of the Northern farmer—

Doctor a knows nowt, for a says what's naw ways true.

Should Dr. Birdwood consider this rather a rude rejoinder, we can only say that "abandoned reprobate" is not usually considered as an epithet of endearment, even if qualified by throwing in such an adjective as "intellectual."

the attempt,—an attempt which every man who will candidly think back upon his own youth knows must fail,—to prevent a few students laughing away the hours with Lisette, or becoming tearfully sentimental with Löttchen.

The object of moral education has been accurately defined by a profound thinker* whose words we cannot do better than desire the advocates of a college to carefully weigh. "The aim of your discipline should be, to produce a self-governing being; not to produce a being to be governed by others. All transitions are dangerous, and the most dangerous is the transition from the restraint of the family circle, to the non-restraint of the world. Hence the importance of the policy which cultivates a boy's faculty of self-restraint, by continually increasing the degree in which he is left to his self-restraint, and so by bringing him, step by step, to a state of unaided self-restraint, obliterates the ordinary and hazardous change from externally-governed youth to internally-governed maturity." This discipline is needed even in Europe, where on emancipation the young man will emerge into the society of his equals, each of whom knows his rights, and can resist any encroachment on them. Far more is it needed, when he will be placed in a country where he will have but few European superiors, so that supervision can only be slight; and made ruler over a people proverbially subservient to those in authority, and the majority of whom neither know what their rights are, nor how to protect them if infringed. Yet for this wise self-restraint it is proposed to substitute a college discipline which will result "either in that hot-house virtue which over-regulation produces in yielding natures, or in that demoralising antagonism which it produces in independent ones."

We have reserved the final argument. We have, it is said, founded a college of similar character to supply India with engineers, and there can be but little doubt that it will improve the public service; why not draw the natural inference? We quite admit that the Cooper's Hill College will profoundly modify the Public Works Department; and we think it at present so execrably bad, that any modification must be an improvement. We say this knowing that it has been recently declared by its vain-glorious head to be the best managed of all Indian departments,—a declaration of such appalling audacity, that the only charitable explanation is to suppose, that while its author knew nothing of his own department, he knew less than nothing of any other. But the two services are so entirely disparate that no analogy can be drawn between them.

Strongly as we are opposed to Government Colleges, we are

* Herbert Spencer. *Education, Intellectual, Moral, and Physical*, p. 140.

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constrained to admit that the one recently founded was a necessity. The class demanded was one which could not be otherwise supplied. The experiment at Rurki had failed to provide adequately instructed engineers in adequate numbers; and at home, neither private institutions nor public universities could give the education needed. In the studies of the civilian, a shelf or two of books is enough for him to attain a high degree of proficiency; a teacher is a luxury rather than a necessity; and both books and teachers are readily got. It is not so with the engineer. His profession cannot be learnt from books alone. Not only are teachers essential, but he needs a school furnished with the requisite plant and machinery for him to study. Teachers, it would, perhaps, not be hard to find. But a workshop, which is as necessary to him as a laboratory to the student of chemistry, it is beyond the means of a private student to set up, while the premium demanded for admission to good workshops at home, is so large as to preclude the hope that a sufficient supply of engineers could be obtained through that channel.

This is the first and most obvious of the necessary disparities of the education required for the two professions. But there is another equally great. Whilst languages and political economy are the same wherever studied, and the slight variances between the legal systems of different countries can be learnt wherever their law books are obtainable, this is not the case with engineering. For a country where for hundreds of miles it is impossible to find stone of any kind; where each year a gigantic freshet must be regularly anticipated; where rivers have an unpleasant habit of varying their courses, leaving high and dry the bridges built over them; where excessive heat and excessive moisture injuriously affect all wood work; where white ants go to and fro, seeking what they may devour and too frequently finding it,—for such a country it is manifest that the engineer requires a special training, widely differing from what is needful for him at home. But this is not all. There are very few professors of Hindustani, who can teach the equivalents for the technical terms of engineering. Nor is this to be wondered at since few save professional men understand the meaning of those terms even in their own language. Without the college then, from their ignorance of the language and of the special conditions under which their art must be applied, the young engineers must either have been allowed to do no work after their arrival in this country till they had conquered their ignorance, or they must have been employed in running up buildings that would not stand and making roads that would not last. In either event the cost to the public would much exceed the cost of the Cooper's Hill College. Even, however, if we have not made the distinction between the two cases clear, we still

think, that unless some more direct advantage can be shown, it would be a most lame and impotent conclusion to found a college for the Civil Service, merely because one has been founded for the Public Works Department.

We have now exhausted the arguments ordinarily adduced in favour of the college. It is time to speak of its direct disadvantages. And as in speaking of the former we have endeavoured to nothing extenuate, so in speaking of the latter we shall set down naught in malice. The writer may, indeed, claim for his opinion the merit of perfect disinterestedness. From among the crowds who annually throng the portals of the Happy Valley, he has already been selected; and if, like Rasselas, he has not found content within it, he has at least no direct personal interest in the probation to which those are to be subjected, who must bear, like himself, the bitter burden of exile. And his indirect interest, like that of every other civilian, would urge that the college be founded. In the struggle to gain our proper share of power and place, no auxiliary could be so welcome as a compact phalanx of juniors pressing us forward. It is this, we fancy, which is generally meant, when it is said that the college would promote *esprit de corps*. But it would be an insult to the service to suppose that it contains many men who would support the scheme on this ground. There is already quite enough *esprit de corps* for any honest purpose; and that it is possible to have too much of it was shown in the Haileybury days. The pollution of office by shameless favouritism, the burning hatred of "interlopers," that is, of every European in India outside the service,—these we think were practices and feelings which, for the public welfare, it is undesirable should be revived.

Since it is upon our opponents that lies the burden of proof, we feel that we have the right to be more brief as regards the disadvantages which would result from the college. Some of them have already incidentally disclosed themselves, such as the probability that the standard of education and the tone of morality will be injuriously affected. We need but glance at the impediments which, if the college be situated out of London, will be thrown in the way of candidates in that very important part of their training,—their frequent attendance at the law courts. We pass to the question of cost. At Cooper's Hill the charge is £150 a year, and yet the institution will not be self-supporting.* The Civil Service College cannot cost less. Yet £150 for two

* In less than two years the Indian Civil Engineering College has cost the country over a million of rupees. It is true most of this is for building, &c. But in the last account we get a glimmering of what the cost of the staff will be, over £10,000 a year. The whole expense at present of the preliminary training of civilians is a little over £17,000 yearly.

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years would swallow up the whole of the candidate's allowance, leaving him nothing for outfit or for passage. Hence the expenses, both of the State and of the student, will be increased. The former evil need not be dilated upon, but as regards the latter, we would observe that the price of admission to the Civil Service is already too high, and that every rise in it falsifies more and more the noble proclamation made to all classes by the genius of equality on the introduction of the competition system,

Fling our doors wide! all, all, not one, but all,
Whatever man have talent, friend or foe,
Shall enter if he will.

But let us waive all other objections; let us grant that the college would turn out men who would excel in learning the Admirable Crichton, in politeness Lord Chesterfield, in purity Sir Galahad. We are content to base our opposition to it on the one ground that it would be fatal to their originality. Fully to illustrate the value of this quality would require a volume. But we have collected from the *Essay on Liberty*,* the following pearls of aphoristic wisdom, which we lay before our readers: "The object towards which every human being must ceaselessly direct his efforts, and on which especially those who design to influence their fellow men must ever keep their eyes, is the individuality of power and development; for this there are two requisites, freedom and variety of circumstances; from the union of these arise individual vigour and manifold diversity, which combine themselves into originality. Individuality is the same thing with development, and it is only the cultivation of individuality which produces, or can produce, well-developed human beings. In proportion to the development of his individuality, each person becomes more valuable to himself, and is therefore capable of being more valuable to others. If it were only that people have diversities of taste, that is reason enough for not attempting to shape them all after one model. But different persons also require different conditions for their spiritual development; and can no more exist healthily in the same moral, than all the varieties of plants can in the same physical, atmosphere and climate." For those who think they can do very well without originality, we continue our quotation:—"Unhappily this is too natural to be wondered at. Originality is the one thing which unoriginal minds cannot feel the use of. They cannot see what it is to do for them: how should they? If they could see what it would do for them, it would not be originality. The first service which originality has to render them is that of opening their eyes: which being once fully done, they would have a chance

* They will be found in the third chapter; but the first is from Wilhelm v. Humboldt's *Ideen zu einem Ver-*

such die Gränzen der Wirksamkeit des Staats zu bestimmen.

of being themselves original. Meanwhile, recollecting that nothing was ever yet done which some one was not the first to do, and that all good things which exist are the fruits of originality, let them be modest enough to believe that there is something still left for it to accomplish, and assure themselves that they are more in need of originality, the less they are conscious of the want." For the comfort of those who consider the books of Mr. Mill as so many arsenals of incendiary doctrines, we will add that they will find the same theory, though much diluted, in the last work of Mr. Helps, and that when a theory finds a place in the works of that writer, it may be safely ranked as no longer a disputed truth but an undisputed platitude.

If such be the value of originality in Europe, where nations are self-sufficient, and Governments comprise but an infinitesimal fraction of the national intelligence, what must not be its value in the official of India, where outside the Government there is no intelligent class, and where every advance, and every improvement must be not merely suggested, but carried out and superintended by Government servants?

How then are we to secure this priceless quality? True or primary originality cannot be taught. That sacred flame man cannot kindle, though it is only too possible for him to extinguish it. But secondary or comparative originality, which comes next in value, may be acquired by studying what is generally neglected, and by knowing what is generally ignored. Hence the easiest way to acquire it is by residence in foreign countries. "Travel," says Bacon, "in the younger sort is a part of education;" it is scarcely too much to say, its best part. Though scholastic education be well, it is the out-of-school education which makes the man. Rapidity in discernment, promptitude in determination are not learnt from books. If studies "perfect nature, they are perfected by experience: for natural abilities are like natural plants that need pruning by study: and studies themselves do give forth directions too much at large, except they be bounded in by experience." But if our future officials are to be boxed up in a college, how can we hope for originality? Within its precincts where are they to find the opportunities for that "conference, which makes a ready man," and that observation of the world which makes a wise man?

We trust that we have made our meaning clear. If we have, we feel satisfied that we shall not altogether lack support. For public opinion at home has on this point advanced greatly during the last twenty years. It is no longer believed that all that is good must necessarily be English; and the complementary truth is already being perceived that all that is English need not necessarily be good. But for those who prefer a concrete example to an

abstract theorem, we will give a single instance of the value of a knowledge of foreign institutions. The land-system of England, whatever be its merits or demerits, is now known to be radically different from that of most other countries, to be in fact almost unique. In India, where agriculture is nearly the sole occupation of the people, the land question is the most important of State problems. Yet at the end of the last century, our governors with the greatest good faith, applied the land-system of England—the only one with which they were familiar—to the land of Bengal. And this error is now generally admitted to have been in its consequences the most stupendous of the many we have committed in the East. Nor let it be said that we are now so enlightened that such dangers cannot recur. We are much less ignorant than we were; but men who had studied the statesmanship of Stein and Hardenberg, or who were acquainted with the diffused well-being produced in France by sub-divided holdings, would scarcely have acquiesced in the creation of the *latifundia* of Oudh, or have supported the recent proposal to extend the permanent settlement. To Englishmen foreign experience is exceptionally valuable, for “the country to which the rule of India has fallen is that of all the countries of Europe in which there is least that is analogous to oriental institutions.”*

We therefore hold that it would be much wiser to establish travelling scholarships,† especially for those candidates destined for the administrative branch of the service, than to imprison them in a college. We would at least diminish the number of periodical examinations now held, from four to two, that the students might live abroad, if they liked, with less difficulty than they now can. Surely, surely, a body of young men selected at the same age from the same country, are not so dangerously unlike each other (particularly if we consider that Englishmen are rather late in maturing, and that all the candidates leave Europe before four and twenty,) that we need strive to lessen that unlikeness.

That enforced residence in any educational establishment is prejudicial to originality, may be seen from the contrast between English and German Universities. The material on which they work is much the same. Professor Huxley, indeed, considers, that whatever difference there is, is in favour of the Englishman. The revenues of either of the great English seats of learning would

* *On the land-system of India.* By G. Campbell (*Cobden Club Essays*), p. 199.

† It may be noted that such scholarships have been already established by the Belgian Chambers for young graduates of the various facul-

ties, and that M. Jules Simon has introduced into the National Assembly, a *projet de loi* in the same sense. Such a measure is of course not needed in Germany, where the students have always been in the habit of travelling.

probably buy up all the Universities of Germany. Yet a petty university of the latter country will frequently send out in a single year as many men who will do her honour, as an English university in three. But while in England the students live in the university, in Germany they do not. And while on a given subject an Oxford man can only tell you what is known at Oxford, a Cambridge man what is known at Cambridge, a German student has begun his studies, perhaps, at Berlin, has then read a semester or two at Göttingen, has then passed on to Leipzig, perhaps thence has gone to *hospitieren* at Heidelberg, and has ended by becoming a *privat docent* at Bonn. The one has therefore studied his subject in only one light, the other in many. And it is noticeable that most modern Englishmen of marked originality have not been educated in the English way. Buckle never went to a public school, neither Mill nor Faraday were ever resident at an university.

But the proposed Civil Service College would be very much worse than any university. At the latter there are at least sufficient numbers to constitute many cliques, in the former there would not be. How much this difference would affect the result may be seen by comparing English public with English private schools. Till a few years back no education could well be more intrinsically worthless than that given at the former, while the curriculum of the latter was often far more rational. Yet the private schools never turned out such a proportion of able men as the public ones. And why? Because the variety of opinion, the tolerance of dissent which in the public schools was produced by the collision of many conflicting little coteries, more than counterbalanced the superior scholastic training given in the private schools, where parties were fewer, and where opinion therefore remained undeveloped. The students in a Civil Service College would naturally fall into the error of "thinking the rustic cackle of their bourg, the murmur of the world;" they would, in spite of themselves, become narrow-minded. Those who think it possible to inculcate learning, and yet leave the rest of the faculties to develop at a later period, betray singular ignorance of human nature. It is during the college years of a young man's life that occurs that fermentation in his mind which determines its subsequent value. You cannot arrest or retard it. If you do not help him to form opinions, he will form prejudices for himself. And English prejudices are both unusually numerous and unusually tenacious.

We were glad to see in a recent *Quarterly* a violent attack on the competition system. For arguments serve Conservatives as cavalry serves a defeated army,—they cover a retreat. When the reactionists take to writing articles, it is because they no longer look for a successful division. But it is not the gloomy forebodings of the writer that we propose to controvert. Direful vaticinations of the disasters that must befall from the withdrawal of

their watchful care, terrifying prophecies of the inevitable shipwreck that must ensue when their hand is no longer on the helm, form a part of the stock-in-trade of vanquished politicians. It would be cruel to deny to those who have lost such consolation as can thus be found. Nor do we intend to reply to the strictures passed by the writer on the new system. The article was singularly self-contradictory and may be left to refute itself. Even were it not so, it would be useless for us to fight over again the prolonged battle that has just been won, in which the enemy, after being first dislodged from their Indian strongholds, have at length been beaten along the whole line. But the writer cited from De Tocqueville, a passage which appears to bear out our views about a college. After stating that the first consequence of the system was the democratisation of the public service (a result it is producing in England), that keen critic goes on to denounce the 'polytechniquisation' of the students. The subject is one to which we may well devote a paragraph.

The history of the Polytechnic School merits careful consideration by the advocates of Government Colleges. Instituted in 1794, principally through the exertions of Carnot, it has ever since been assiduously nurtured by the most war-loving State on the continent. Dynasties have faded but the Polytechnic has flourished. It was founded by the first Republic; it was organised by the Great Napoleon; at the Restoration it was reorganised; by the Legitimists it was cherished; under the Empire it was the object of supreme solicitude. Successive rulers lavished money upon it with no sparing hand. The cleverest students were recruited for it from every province of France, and to teach them were provided the most eminent men of an eminently scientific nation. Within its walls taught Lagrange and Laplace, Say and Berthollet, Poisson and Arago. But ever since its re-constitution, half a century back, the school has fallen into the natural groove of all State institutions. It has laboured with all its energies to cast all its students in the same mould. And except in the case of a very few, too strong to be completely compressed, its labours have been crowned with entire success. The absolute intersimilitude produced, would have obtained and deserved the highest praise, had the institution been a manufactory for cartridges in place of a school for officers. De Tocqueville tells us that all the students were exactly alike, and that all were of mediocre ability. If the training had eliminated stupidity, it had also eliminated genius. And the fearful penalty exacted for having thus crushed individuality, we have witnessed in our own day. The system was scarcely tested in the Crimea, but it showed signs of yielding in Italy, and it fell by the Rhine with a crash that shook the world.

It is hard, indeed, to see what other the result could have

been. But it is harder still to see why the introduction of a similar system into England should be so rashly urged. We disapprove of a Civil Service College, because we think it would naturally follow the path of its brilliant precursor, and because we fear it would attain a like deplorable success. The interference of Government in the higher branches of education ought to be dreaded. Even where there must be a Government College it is at best a necessary evil. And not merely should the preliminary enquiry as to its necessity be most searching, but if its foundation cannot be avoided, stringent precautions should be taken to restrain that interference within bounds as narrow as possible. . It may sometimes be expedient for Government to provide students with appliances and means to enable them to learn ; it can never be expedient to compel them to avail themselves of the proffered help. The example of the Polytechnic is surely so striking that it is needless for us to provide another in our own country, to show the justice of the solemn warning of a great English thinker : " the worth of a State, in the long run, is the worth of the individuals composing it ; and a State, which postpones the interests of *their* mental expansion and elevation, to a little more of administrative skill, or of that semblance of it which practice gives, in the details of business ; a State which dwarfs its men, in order that they may be more docile instruments in its hands even for beneficial purposes,—will find that with small men no great thing can really be accomplished ; and that the perfection of machinery to which it has sacrificed every thing, will in the end avail it nothing, for want of the vital power, which, in order that the machine might work more smoothly, it has preferred to banish."

We have tried to show that originality, of high value in any country, is of the highest value in India. Is then the present the time when to dispense with it will cause less loss than at any other period ? Far from it. The words of the seer of forty years ago are more applicable than ever : "*je vois l'Orient qui se trouble en lui-même ; il regarde ses antiques palais crouler, ses vieux temples tomber en poudre, et il lève les yeux comme pour chercher d'autres grandeurs et un autre Dieu.**" Caste, the cement which has held together the social edifice from time immemorial, is losing its binding power. The barriers of race are being broken down. The Brahman steams into Benares in the same carriage with the Chamar. The Musalmán of Delhi marches under the same colours with the Rajput of Jodhpur. Even that venerable creed which stands like some gigantic sea-cliff, at the base of which the tide of humanity has ebbed and flowed for countless centuries, begins to totter towards its fall. The efforts of gene-

* Lamennais, *Paroles d'un Croyant*, p. 34.

rations of missionaries to undermine it, were as ineffectual as would have been those of a colony of limpets. But it vibrated with a strange tremor as the iron horse dashed by in thunder, and it was blasted by the telegraph as with fire from heaven. A moral chaos is returning. All is becoming without form and void ; darkness is falling upon the face of the earth ; the deluge of doubt is rising fast. The sacred Vedas have once more disappeared ; it is time for a new Avatára. When Narâyana, upborne on the coils and over-canopied by the heads of the serpent of infinity, again appears floating over the dark waters of the ocean of incertitude, and bearing with him the resplendent lotos of truth, who are the rishis to whom he will confide the sowing of the seeds, whence shall spring the new order of things ? Scarcely to those who enwrap themselves in the mantle of careless selfishness, or to those who sit solitary, mourning with unavailing regret, the world that has perished. Rather will it be to those devout sages, who recognising in the new cosmos but a palingenesia of that previously existent, desire to apply themselves earnestly to the fulfilling of the divine intentions

To abandon metaphor : India has reached the age of transition ; she stands in pressing need of able rulers, men of the greatest originality, and the highest adaptive capacity, that they may seize and save what there is of good in native institutions, lest it perish with the rest. And while our work, since it is moulding the destinies of far-off generations of men, is more momentous than ever before, our influence is daily decreasing. We are becoming less and less able, even if we discover an error, to unbuild and build up aright that which we have once built up awrong. It then we fail in our task, if we mar the future of the races committed to our charge, if we increase the sufferings we ought to alleviate, we venture to predict that it will be but a faint consolation for those vast populations who revere the Shastras, the Kurân or the Granth, who feed on pulse and are clad in rags,—it will be, we repeat, for them but a faint consolation to learn, that the officers through whose feebleness and incapacity their woes have been multiplied, were in the habit of dining daily in hall, arrayed in academical attire, and were distinguished for their punctuality in attending morning chapel.

Sententiam dixi, animam liberavi. The writer has little to add. The projected college will commend itself to those pernicious theorists who long to leave nothing unmanaged by Government ; it will captivate those feeble minds for which the deceptive beauty of centralisation possesses an irresistible fascination ; it will secure the selfish adherence, in England, of all those who may hope for the new places in the gift of the ministry, and, in India, of those degenerate civilians who prefer the interests of their

class to the interests of the State. But we trust that those who are not included in these categories will join with us in cordially condemning it. We condemn it because it can do no good and will do much harm; because it will cost much and be worth nothing; because the infliction by its alien rulers, of a needless charge on a subject people would be at any time an injustice; and because to inflict such charge at a moment when taxation is pressing so severely as to give rise to serious distress and wide-spread discontent, appears to border upon political insanity.*

W. H. M.

* Were the financial interests of India as keenly looked to at home as are those of England, we should have little fear of the measure being introduced by the present ministry, so long as the Chancellor of the Exchequer held office. For Mr. Lowe has already recorded, "in my judgment, money is better spent in giving exhibitions to young men, leaving them free to choose the place of their education, than in paying persons to teach them, since in the one case the inducement of the teacher to work is diminished, while in the other the student with money in his hand is sure to find the best teacher for himself." (Letter in the *Times* of June 3rd, 1872.)

ART. IV.—THE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT IN BOMBAY.

- 1.—*A Collection of Treaties, Engagements and Sunnuds, relating to India and neighbouring countries*, compiled by C. U. Aitchison, B.C.S., Vol. VI., containing the Treaties, &c., relating to the States within the Bombay Presidency. Calcutta. 1864.
- 2.—*General Report on the Administration of the Bombay Presidency for the year 1870-71.*

THE year 1872 will take high place in the annals of Bombay, for it would be difficult to over-rate the importance of the event that has lately taken place, amid such rejoicings, in the capital of the Western Presidency. From the establishment, at the end of last century, of the office of Governor-General until 1854, no official holding that great position went there during his term of office; and after the visit of Lord Dalhousie, though Governors-General elect passed through Bombay, none actually holding the reins of power until last year favoured the place with a visit. In 1872, Bombay for the first time saw face to face the officials composing the Government of India, and the Rajahs and Sirdars of the Presidency were received in Durbar by the Viceroy in person. Much might be written on the advantages that may arise from the wise step Lord Northbrook has thus taken—the settlement of long-standing questions facilitated by personal discussion on the spot—the acquisition of local information that could never be gained from mere correspondence, and the effacement to some extent, we may hope, of presidential prejudices and jealousies which have done so much to mar our work in this country. These and other topics of the kind would afford ample material for long and interesting disquisition, but our object on the present occasion is a different one. It has occurred to us that this is a good opportunity to carry into effect an intention that has for some time past been gradually forming itself in our mind, and surely no more proper period could be found for the publication of some remarks on the administration of the Political Department in Bombay than the time when all India has been regarding with interest the spectacle of the Native Princes and Chiefs of the Presidency, assembled, with one notable exception, to meet for the first time Her Majesty's representative. It would be assuming too much, perhaps, to postulate in our readers very clear ideas regarding the Native States of Western India, so we propose beginning with a brief account of them and their political relations with our Government, confining our attention to those situated within the limits of the Bombay Presidency, and excluding the States

which, like those in the Persian Gulf, or the Sind frontier, or at Aden, though outside those limits, are looked after by the Bombay authorities.*

The largest and wealthiest Native State in Western India is Baroda, and in these respects it is the most important, though it may be doubted whether the origin, history and political influence of his family entitle the Guicowar to be considered the premier Rajah of the Presidency. The founder of the dynasty being a Mahratta was, almost as a matter of course, a freebooter, who in the early part of the last century served under one Trimbuck Row Dhabary, the Senaputtee of the Mahratta Empire. After the Senaputtee's death his infant son was placed under the care of the Guicowar, who before long supplanted his master, and the family soon became possessed of a considerable portion of Guzerat, and grew so powerful that the Peshwah was obliged to acknowledge their position and treat them as allies, under feudal subordination. In the latter part of the century the English formed an alliance with the Guicowar which continued uninterrupted for many years, and in 1802 the reigning prince, Govind Rao, was enabled to overcome a rebellion excited against him by one of his relatives, and was firmly placed on the throne, by British intervention. In 1805 he was subsidized, according to the policy of the day, and gave up territory producing nearly 12 lakhs of rupees annually for the support of the subsidiary force. In 1817 the Peshwah signed a treaty with the British at Poona in which he gave up his suzerainty over the Guicowar, who thus became a sovereign prince, and this was followed by a supplemental treaty between the latter and the British Government making further arrangements and concessions for the subsidiary force, as well as stipulating for the maintenance of a body of 3,000 horse, known as the Guicowar's Contingent. It should be noted that the treaty of 1802, which was not abrogated by the subsequent engagements, gave the British Government, to use Mr. Aitchison's words,† "an almost unlimited power of interference in the internal Government of the Baroda State." Advantage was at first taken of the power thus given to an extent that caused much discontent and ill-feeling, but in 1820‡ the Government formally gave up this power conditionally, and of late the policy has been adopted of leaving the Guicowar to manage his territory as he likes and abstaining from interference. The present

* The Persian Gulf is not now under Bombay, we understand.

† Treaties, &c., vol. vi, p. 275, note.

‡ Aitchison's Treaties, p. 340. The British Government, however, stipulated that the Resident was to be kept acquainted with the financial

condition of the State and was to have access to the accounts. It was provided too, that though the Guicowar, was to choose his own minister, he was to consult the British Government before appointing him.

Guicowar, Mulhar Rao, succeeded to the *guddee* on the death of his brother Khunde Rao in 1870, and our readers will probably remember the excitement that prevailed when it was discovered that the widow of the deceased prince was pregnant, an excitement only allayed by the birth of a daughter—which event confirmed Mulhar Rao, who at the time of his brother's death had been for years an inmate of a prison, in the possession of the State of Baroda, with its population of several millions, and revenue of nearly a million and a half sterling.

Adjoining the Guicowar's territories are several groups of States, under the political supervision of the Agents in Kattywar, Rewa Kanta, Mahee Kanta, and Pahlunpoor, our relations with which are of a peculiar nature. These territories were inhabited by various more or less turbulent tribes who were ruled by semi-independent Rajpoot, Mussalman, or Kolee chieftains. From these the Guicowars, following the example set them by their Mahomedan predecessors, used to levy a tribute by a process termed "moolukgeeree," which consisted in sending an army first into one district and then into another to exact what the Mahrattas, with characteristic grim humour, called "ghas dana," or hay and grain for their horses, but which in reality meant whatever could be squeezed out of the chiefs and their subjects. As it was considered a point of honour to resist these demands as far as possible, and the Mahrattas were by no means soft-hearted campaigners, the misery thus occasioned was incalculable; and one of the first efforts of the Bombay Government, as soon as it had a little breathing time and felt its own position in some degree assured, was to put a stop to these practices. With this view a series of negotiations was carried on between 1808 and 1820 with the Guicowar, which resulted in the latter binding himself not to interfere with the chiefs in question, on condition of the British Government collecting from them and paying over to him certain fixed sums by way of their "ghas dana" or tribute. In the province of Kattywar this tribute had been levied for the Guicowar and the Peshwah jointly, and on the fall of the latter in 1817, we succeeded to his share which was larger than that of the Baroda State; but in the other provinces above referred to the "ghas dana" is levied for the Guicowar alone. As we became thus responsible for this tribute, and the chiefs if left to themselves would have indulged in anarchy and intestine feuds to an extent that would probably have necessitated "moolukgeeree" expeditions on our own account, the British Government was obliged to interfere in the several provinces in a much greater degree than was at first intended; but this interference has been attended with the happiest results in the pacification of the country and the amelioration of the habits and condition of its inhabitants. The area of the provinces under the several

agencies above enumerated is estimated at upwards of 40,000 square miles ; Kattywar is by far the largest of these, its area being 21,000 square miles. In it are five chiefs enjoying first class, and eight enjoying second class jurisdiction ; besides a whole* host of chiefs of minor importance, and the aggregate revenue of the province is supposed to exceed considerably a crore of rupees.

Next in importance to the Guicowar in the northern part of the Presidency, though of far higher lineage and of older standing as a regnant prince, comes the Rao of Kutch, the ruler of the peninsula to the west of Kattywar. He belongs to the Jharejas, a branch of the Samma tribe of Rajpoots, who are said to have emigrated from Sind to Kutch in the fifteenth century of the Christian era. In the following century Khengar, the ancestor of the present reigning family, received the title of Rao from the Mussalman King of Ahmedabad and was acknowledged as the ruler of Kutch. In 1809 our first treaty with Kutch was made, having for its objects the suppression of piracy and the exclusion from Kutch of all Europeans but the British. The first object, however, was not attained, and after a force had been sent to Kutch another treaty was concluded in 1816 in which the provisions of the former one were reiterated, and the British Government agreed for a consideration to reduce the Rao's subjects to his authority. When this was done the Government remitted not only its expenses but also the sum the Rao had agreed to pay, notwithstanding which the Kutch prince, so far from appreciating this generosity, acted in such a mad way towards his subjects and the British that the latter, at the invitation of the principal Jhareja chiefs, were obliged to interfere in 1819. The result of this interference was that the then reigning Rao was deposed, his son placed on the Musnud, and a new treaty concluded, which, besides renewing the provisions of former engagements, secured the location of a British force in Kutch, to be paid for by the State. In 1832, however, this treaty was modified by a new one in which all arrears was remitted and further arrangements made regarding the subsidiary force, for the maintenance of which, it was provided, never less than Rs. 88,000 were to be paid. The present ruler of Kutch is named Pragmuljee and succeeded to the *guddee* in 1860. The area of his dominions is estimated at upwards of 6,500 square miles, and the revenue is calculated to be about fifteen lakhs of rupees,† of which one-half is said to belong to the feudatory chiefs.

As we pass from the north towards the south of the Presidency,

* There are no less than 418 separate jurisdictions claimed in Kattywar.

† This is the estimate given by Mr. Aitchison in his *Treaties*, &c., vol.

vi., p. 440. We believe, however, that the Kutch revenues considerably exceed this amount, and are, indeed, fully double of it.

we come across various petty chiefs, for the most part looked after by the Collectors in whose districts their possessions happen to be, regarding which it is not necessary to give any details here. Without pausing, therefore; by the way, we will proceed at once to the most important State in the southern portion of the Presidency of Bombay, *viz.*, Kolhapoor. The Rajah of this principality holds a very high place in native estimation, as, since the lapse of the Sattara raj, he is the sole descendant of the great Sivajee, the founder of the Mahratta empire, and as such is the head of the Mahratta nation. Our readers are probably aware that after the death of Sivajee his two sons and their descendants quarrelled for pre-eminence, the question being at last decided in 1731 by a formal treaty, under the provisions of which Kolhapoor was acknowledged by the Rajah of Sattara (to use by anticipation the title afterwards held by the senior branch) as an independent principality to be governed by the younger branch of his family. The direct line of the founder Sivajee failed in the third generation, but was restored, according to Hindoo law and ideas, by the adoption of an heir from the nearest collateral branch of the family — a process which had to be repeated twice subsequently.

The British were first brought into contact with Kolhapoor in consequence of the piratical tendencies of part of its population. A commercial treaty was made with the State in 1765, which was superseded by another one in 1785. A more important treaty was negotiated with the Rajah in 1811, by which he ceded some forts to the British and in return was guaranteed against all foreign aggression. The Rajah stood loyally by the British during our war with the Peshwah and was rewarded by the grant of two districts that had long been a bone of contention in that part of the country; but the conduct of the prince who succeeded to the *guddee* in 1822, necessitated the resumption in 1827 of these two districts. Sir H. Lawrence has narrated in the pages of this *Review* the circumstances connected with the insurrection that happened after the death of the Rajah last referred to; and our readers doubtless remember how the late Rajah Rajaram went to England in 1870 and died at Florence while returning to India. He was succeeded by an adopted son, who received the name of the founder of the family Sivajee, and during his minority the State is administered by British officers. The area of Kolhapoor is upwards of 3,000 square miles, and "the aggregate revenues may be estimated at about 30 lakhs; but so numerous are the alienations of revenue that only 12 lakhs are collected on behalf of the State."*

* Bombay Administration Report, p. 152. We may in passing note the

To the south-west of Kolhapoor lies the State of Sawunt Warree, the turbulent nature of whose population has always caused it to give an amount of trouble utterly disproportioned to its size. Like Kolhapoor its addiction to piracy first brought it into contact with the British, the first treaty with whom was made in 1765. The treaty by which Sawunt Warree became a protected State was made in 1819, though other engagements have since been concluded. In 1838 the condition of the State was such that the British Government were obliged, with the consent of the Sir Dessai, as the chief is termed, to assume the management of the country, and even under their rule formidable insurrections had to be suppressed in 1839 and 1844. The area of Sawunt Warree is 900 square miles, and the revenue amounts to nearly 2½ lakhs. The present chief, Rughoonath Sawunt, who lately succeeded to the *guddee*, is quite a boy, being only about nine years of age.

On the other side of Kolhapoor lie the possessions of a number of first class Sirdars, known as the Chiefs of the Southern Mahratta country, who were Surinjamdars of the Peshwah, and retained their surinjams under the British on the fall of that prince; the horse contingent which they used to supply being now commuted into an annual money payment of upwards of half a lakh of rupees. To the north are the estates of the Sattara Jaghirdars, who held a similar position under the Rajah of Sattara, and on the lapse of that State came directly under the British Government. The Rajah of Akulkote, who was originally one of these jaghirdars, is now on a somewhat different footing, and being a minor, his estate is managed by a British officer.

The petty State of Junjeera, which lies to the south of Bombay, would hardly call for notice here, were it not for the action taken by the Chiefs who, in 1870, revolted against the Nawab, a descendant of the Siddce or Abyssinian Admirals of Beejapoor—a step which necessitated the interference of the British Government, and the assumption by them of the administration. The area of the State is only about 320 square miles, and the revenue is under two lakhs of rupees.

The policy adopted towards these several Chiefs has at times, as may have been seen even from the foregoing brief sketch, varied considerably. This was, perhaps, to be expected to some extent, but from all we can gather we apprehend that a change has been for some time taking place in the spirit in which the Political Department is administered in Bombay, a change too which strikes us as being by no means for the better.

For some time after the consolidation of our power in Western

able way in which the political chapter of this report has been drawn up. The whole report, indeed, contrasts

most favourably with those issued of late years by the Bombay Government.

India by the subversion of the Peshwah, the Political Department there may be said to have been at the zenith of its influence and estimation, as was natural under the circumstances, especially when such men as Mountstuart Elphinstone, and Malcolm, themselves trained politicals, were Governors. Then, and for a considerable time after, the department was officered by able men, both from the civil and military services, who were regarded by Government in the spirit which Dido engaged to show towards the Trojans and her own subjects.—

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

As time went on, however, and our rule became more firmly established, the Revenue Department began to be regarded as of paramount importance; and the civilians, as a rule, seemed to see a better opening in the regular work of their service and forsook the political line, to such an extent that, until two years ago, for a long period no member of the Civil Service, with the exception, if we are rightly informed, of the lamented Kinloch Forbes, and one or two less well-known men, has held a regular political appointment. It is true that many Collectors are termed Political Agents in consequence of having to look after one or more petty States in their collectorates; but they are not what we mean by political officers, nor are they likely to gain much experience from political work on such a small scale, and what is worse, regarded as a mere *παρεργον*—a by-work to be looked after in the rare intervals allowed by more important and pressing duties. The emoluments too of many of the political appointments were lowered, and this again tended to deter civilians from entering this department, and left it entirely in the hands of military officers. At first the effects of this change were not felt much, as there were enough civilians who had undergone some political training, to supply for a considerable time the offices of Member of Council and Secretary to Government with men of experience. In time, however, this generation passed away, and men succeeded to these important offices whose experience had been confined entirely to the Revenue and Judicial Departments, and who were consequently utterly unacquainted with all other branches of the public service.

It was hardly to be expected that a Government, the principal members of which, as well as the ministerial officers of the Political Department, were entirely devoid of experience in the affairs of that department, should manage it with the same skill and firmness as their more experienced predecessors, and there are not wanting those who profess to have observed for years past a decided change for the worse in the political administration of the Presidency. Such critics assert that the action of the Government in this department is too often characterized by irreso-

lution or vagueness, and that it is not unfrequently more or less inconsistent with the policy which both in this country and at home had received the sanction of the highest authorities. They profess to see traces of the limited training of the members of Government in what they consider narrow views, an undue respect for technicalities, and a premature impatience to see Native States assimilated to the British districts and governed by the same or exactly similar regulations.* To a man, they say, accustomed only to the apple-pie order of a British collectorate where everything is provided for by some Act or Regulation, the very best administered of Native States seems almost a chaos; and similarly, one whose training has been solely judicial cannot conceive of a proper judicial administration without all the forms and technicalities to which use had given to his eyes almost the appearance of sanctity.

There is much of exaggeration and misapprehension doubtless in these criticisms, but they represent opinions that are not by any means losing ground. The Bombay Government, however, as was natural, has regarded itself and its actions in quite a different light, and with such satisfaction that its members determined not long ago to call in the aid of more civilians like themselves; arguing apparently that as they, though inexperienced in political matters, had nevertheless managed that department with consummate skill, therefore political experience was absolutely non-essential; that one civilian was as good as another, and by the mere fact of belonging to the Civil Service infinitely superior to any military political. Under the influence of some such reasoning they hit upon the notable scheme of subordinating all the political agencies to the Revenue Commissioners, and creating a new Commissionership (for the Civil Service) to aid in meeting this extra business. In this way the Government expected to have a great deal of troublesome work done for it by men of the favoured service who would look at things from the same point of view from which it regarded them. Those outside the charmed pale of the service who heard of this device, treated it with ridicule and asked what good would be derived from it by the public service; professing themselves unable to see what connection there was between the Revenue Commissioners and the Political Department, any more than there was between the Commissioners and the Military Department. Those too who were not profoundly impressed with the political skill displayed by the

* On this side of India the Santal insurrection and the Cossyah-Jhynteah war have demonstrated what fruit this impatience may bring forth. Had these tribes been left out of the regulations and kept under the

control of political officers, as the Mhairs were under Dixon, the same happy results would probably have ensued as in Mhairwarra, and inglorious and costly wars would in all probability have been averted.

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members of the Government, distrusted still more the action that would be taken by the Commissioners, who, besides being inexperienced, would not have the records and traditions of the Secretariat to aid them; and many who had had experience of native intrigues observed that the main result of the new plan would be a vast extension of what is known as "khutput," and a considerable increase of bribery among subordinate officials.

The political officers, who, however, were not consulted, were to a man opposed to the scheme; for they felt that much of their influence in Native States arises from their having the privilege of corresponding with Government direct, and foresaw that placing them under the Commissioners would deprive them of half their effective power, and we must acknowledge that there seems to us much force in these objections. Notwithstanding all opposition, however, whether expressed or understood, the scheme was actually sent home for the approval of the home authorities, by whom it was promptly negatived. Though thus rendered a *brutum fulmen*, the proposed change has not been without its ill effects on the Political Department in Bombay. It and other signs of the times have caused the military political officers, who hold, be it remembered, all the important appointments, to feel an uneasy consciousness that they are not altogether *en rapport* with the Government they serve. This feeling of course produces the idea that justice will not always be done to them and that their services will not be fairly appreciated, and there are some who cannot remember without dismay the extraordinary action of the Bombay Government a few years ago in suddenly suspending ignominiously one of the highest political officers in the Presidency, who was simply carrying out the policy that had for years been stamped with the continuous approval of the authorities both here and in England.* Again, the impression has got about that the Government intend ere long to get all the best paid appointments in the department filled by members of the Civil Service, to the exclusion of the military men, to whom are to be left only the inferior places. It is probable that such is not really the intention of the Government, but the impression nevertheless is widespread and is having its consequent effect on the *morale* of the military politicals. The latter disclaim, we are informed, all jealousy of the Civil Service and would hail its members as fellow-workers with them in the department. All that they ask is that fair play should be given to both services, and that the members of both should enter the department on equal terms, instead of the favoured service stepping in at the end and snatching the reward from those who have borne the heat and burden of the day.

* The action of the Bombay Government in this matter was disapproved by the Secretary of State for India, it is needless to say.

The late Governor of Bombay, if we are rightly informed, did much to lower the influence of the political officers. Coming straight to this country from England without any knowledge of India, and too vain to learn from others, Sir Seymour Fitzgerald could not see any difference between the position of a native chief and that of an English nobleman. He consequently argued that, as a Marquis of Hastings or Duke of Hamilton would be allowed to ruin himself and his estates without being interfered with by the Government at home, he did not see why a chief in India should not be allowed to do likewise. Acting on this theory he encouraged appeals from the chiefs and did his best to discredit the officers whose duty it was to look after them. We have heard on good authority that when chiefs, accompanied by the political officers accredited to their States, called at Government House, Sir Seymour not unfrequently gave audiences to the chief, for the discussion of his grievances, from which the political officers were excluded, though in the house; being left in the dark, moreover, as to the subjects discussed and the allegations made at the interview. As the correspondence in the matter has lately been published in the papers, we may refer to another instance which shows how the late Governor of Bombay delighted to set aside political officers and to assume the appearance of doing everything himself. In the province of Kattywar the institution of a court, like that in vogue in Rajpootana, for the settlement of international disputes and other matters had long been talked of, and not long ago steps were taken towards carrying the project into effect. Accordingly the Political Agent drew up a scheme which, however, did not give satisfaction to all concerned, so the wakeels and kamdars of the chiefs were summoned to Bombay, where at a series of interviews between them, the Governor, and the Acting Secretary in the Political Department, a scheme was drawn up which was afterwards communicated to the Agent in Kattywar.* Those who are better acquainted than we profess to be with the political affairs of the Western Presidency could doubtless adduce other instances of Sir Seymour's diplomacy and skill in setting the chiefs against their recognized advisers, as well as the pleasure he seemed to take in discrediting and lowering the influence of the officers who derived their authority from the Government of which

* Those unacquainted with the customs of Indian Courts will perhaps find some difficulty in understanding the full force of the instances given in the text. For the information of such persons we may observe that it has always been considered *a sine qua non* that Political officers should be treated as enjoying

the full confidence of and completely identified with the Government that accredits them. A letter from the Viceroy is never sent to a Rajah without a copy being forwarded for the information of the Political at the latter's Court. It needs little reflection to see the necessity of this.

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he was the head, and to the maintenance of whose influence the full confidence and open support of Government are indispensable—but we do not care to follow this subject further.

One great obstacle to the proper administration of the Political Department in Bombay is that it has not a Secretary to itself, for the Secretary to Government in that department has also permanent charge of the Secret, Educational and Judicial Departments; and when we consider the daily increasing attention paid to the last two branches of public affairs, and the fact that the Under-Secretary, besides assisting in these departments, is also Secretary to the Legislative Council, it speaks volumes in favour of the officers of the Secretariat that so much is done and so satisfactorily. Able as these officers, however, unquestionably are, their powers being human, are but limited, and we mean no slight to the Political Secretary to the Bombay Government when we say that the Political Department would be better looked after if his attention were confined to its duties. It was remarked, we understand, by some of the members of the Foreign Office, on their late visit to Bombay, that due regard was not always paid there to the ceremonials on which native princes lay such stress, and which, therefore, are so important; and this, doubtless, was owing to the press of work in the Secretariat which induced the officials to postpone the consideration of such matters to what was in their eyes of superior importance. However this may be, there can be little doubt that the Political Department in Bombay requires a special channel of communication between it and Government, and so long as the Secretary has to divide his attention between that department and two or three others, the political administration cannot be considered to be on a proper footing.

We would ourselves, however, advocate a still greater change. We think for many reasons that it would be for the public advantage to do away with a separate Political Department in Bombay and place the Rajahs and Chiefs, except, perhaps, the petty ones now under the collectors, under the direct control of the Foreign Office. Political relations with Native Chiefs form a subject more suited to the consideration of the Supreme than to that of a Local Government, and the adoption of the step we recommend would introduce a uniformity of policy throughout the country that is much to be desired. Where the authorities of a Presidency have to deal with a number of chiefs, among whom one towers above the rest by the extent of his possessions and the amount of his wealth, they are apt to think rather too much about the big man, and to invest him with a somewhat undue importance; and this has been the case, we are inclined to think, with the Bombay Government and the Guicowar. The Foreign Office, however, having under it several princes equal in wealth and

superior in importance to the Guicowar, would probably take a juster view of the position of the latter, and would see more clearly the policy to be adopted, and having a larger field of view would also appraise more correctly the standing of the other Rajahs and Sirdars of the Presidency. This suggestion of ours is a natural inference from the line we took in the earlier part of this article. We there deprecated the interposition of intermediate authorities between Political Agents and Government, and what we now propose is to carry out the principle therein implied still further. Under the present system all important questions have to go on to the Government of India, and it would not be such a great change to let these questions go direct to the finally-deciding authority, thereby saving much time, and, what is of still greater importance, doing away with much opportunity for intrigue; for no one who knows anything of India can be ignorant that the more numerous the stages are through which a communication from a political officer has to pass before reaching the highest authority, the greater are the facilities afforded for bribery and undue influence among the underlings of the various offices. Then again the Government of India generally numbers among its members one statesman, if not more, as distinguished from mere able administrators who are not at all uncommon in India, and it would be a decided advantage to have the political administration of the whole country under the direct influence of such a man, for what is wanted more than anything in India is statesmanship. The step we advocate, too, would check jobbery, and had it been adopted two years ago, we should have been spared the sight of a departing Governor appointing to a high post in the Political Department his own son, a gentleman whose experience of the East was confined to what he picked up during the few years he acted as Private Secretary to his father. It should not be forgotten also that the recent comparative financial decentralization of India has given extra work to the Bombay Government, and as the proclivities of that Government have always been to revenue and judicial in preference to political work, the arrangement we propose would leave it at liberty to devote attention to its favourite subjects undisturbed.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect that such a change as that we recommend will be speedily brought about, though we consider that it must in time take place. A step, indeed, has been taken in this direction by the Bombay Government spontaneously relinquishing the control over the affairs in the Persian Gulf, which hitherto had been vested in it on the ground of its proximity to the scene of action. In the meantime the present able and high-minded Governor of Bombay may be fairly trusted to do of himself what is just and right as soon as he has gained sufficient experience of the country to

enable him to form his own judgment independently. We do not in the least disparage the abilities or uprightness of his official advisers, but we cannot help feeling that His Excellency is more qualified to take an impartial and statesmanlike view of matters than the members of a special service, whose training has been limited to certain branches of the public service to the exclusion of others not, perhaps, less important. We would earnestly, too, deprecate any action likely to tend, or even seem to tend, towards the detriment of men who have done and are still doing good work, which being but little known meets with but little public appreciation. The brilliant days of Indian diplomacy are over. In the early part of the present century, when we were struggling for our position, the political occasionally had it in his power to materially aid the Government he served by the negotiation of some treaty that strengthened our hold of the country, or by persuading some chief, whose defection would have shaken our power, to remain staunch to his engagements. The services of such men were appreciable by all, even by those most ignorant of Indian affairs; but the task of Indian politicals, and the estimation in which they are held, are very different now, yet we hold that their present duties are hardly less important. It is no longer theirs to effect brilliant *coups-de-main* and to perform magnificent feats of diplomacy that all can see and admire. Their task is a more humble one and less distinguished. They seldom now have to hold back a wavering chief for swerving from the paths of loyalty, but they have to aid the princes of this country to fight against the faults too often inherent in them. A Rajah is but too apt to have an overweening sense of his own dignity and position and to have but little thought for those placed under him, or to consider them merely as the instruments appointed by fate to fill his coffers; and the popular idea of a native of high rank as a being immersed in and wholly devoted to sensuality is but too frequently justified by facts. It is no easy and no ignoble task to rouse such men from their besotted infatuation, and to demonstrate to them, as well as to their compeers less grovelling in tastes perhaps, but equally prejudiced, that their truest interest is to consult the real welfare of their subjects; and to point out the spirit, and many of the institutions, of the British administration without advocating a servile imitation of the latter. We are far from recommending what Lord Elgin, in one of his letters, calls a "prurient interference" with the internal affairs of Native States; but we have a duty as the paramount power, and if we preserve those States from all peril of intestine conflict, we have a right in turn to call on them to abstain at least from such misgovernment as would but for our presence drive their subjects to rebellion. A judicious political officer at a native prince's court by keeping a

watchful eye on what goes on in the State, and letting it be known that he does so, may do much to check oppression without overt action ; but in every step tact is required, and even tact is of little use without some experience. A man devoid of this necessary element is apt to fall into one of two errors, *viz.*, either allowing himself to be hoodwinked, and allowing matters to go too far from ignorance how to act, or being too peremptory and expecting too much from the chief to whom he is accredited. Action, action, action, was Demosthenes' *sine quid non* for an orator, and we would urge with equal impressiveness the necessity of experience to a political officer, if but for the reason that without it the ablest of men must be too much dependent on the aid of his subordinates. Native princes must be humoured to a certain extent, but must never be allowed to forget that there is a paramount power in India ; and to keep to the golden mean in dealing with them is no easy matter, undue laxity often leading to internal confusion and misgovernment, while the opposite course leads to a sullen surface submission that may be productive of most evil consequences. Under these circumstances the task of political officers is no easy one, and it is one of the misfortunes of their position that often their very success tends to make their services less appreciated. Every one can see and applaud a man who is publicly battling for the right in open conflict ; but where a man, by judicious advice and the exercise of personal influence, has brought about an improvement in the government of a Native State, how few know of the improvement, and how far fewer of those who do attribute the change to him who deserves at least some of the credit. Every one hears of a turbulent State, while those whose condition is otherwise are but too often passed over unnoticed ; and these remarks apply in a great measure to the Bombay political officers, for the work they have done is, we believe, unsurpassed in any part of India. The chiefs and peoples they have had to deal with were not many years ago as wild and uncivilized in many cases as were to be found to the south of the Himalayas, while the little that is heard of them now shows how different their condition has become—a condition that will contrast most favourably with that of any of the native chiefs and their subjects, in either of the other Presidencies. *Sic vos non vobis* must be often the motto of those who work in the Political Department.

What the outside public, however, have no means of knowing the Government must from its position be acquainted with, and it abdicates one of its chief functions if it passes over without due recognition services that deserve notice. Especially too does it fail in its duties if it neglects to accord to its agents with native chiefs (whatever Service they may belong to) the fullest and most open confidence, and that not only publicly but privately. A

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formal expression of satisfaction in a Government Resolution does little to strengthen the hands of an officer if the members of Government show in various ways that he does not possess their full confidence ; and it should be remembered that there are few natives of rank who have not agents about those in high office, whose business it is to ascertain and report to their employers the supposed real sentiments of such officials. We would add too that, if a Government wishes its agents at native courts to carry out vigorously a definite line of policy, it must give instructions accordingly, and make its agents feel assured of support.

ART. V.—JOSEPH MAZZINI.—(*Independent Section.*)
The Life and Writings of Joseph Mazzini. Six Vols. Smith,
Elder and Co. London, 1864.

IN that charming description of himself which is prefixed to the second volume of his *Pensées*, Joubert mentions that if he had a one-eyed friend he always made a point of avoiding the sight of the deformity by looking at him only in profile. There is much to be said for the spirit of loving criticism suggested by this remark; it is indeed an essential element of all true criticism—but with one proviso—that the attitude of devoted, unquestioning admiration be only temporary. As long as we are learning from a teacher, it is highly desirable, if he be a really great teacher and if we are to learn much from him, it is almost necessary that we should bow down before him with implicit obedience, and follow, doubting nothing, whithersoever he may lead us, and by whatsoever path. As Jean-Jacques has told us:—

‘En lisant chaque auteur, je me fis une loi d’adopter et suivre toutes ses idées sans y mêler les miennes ni celles d’un autre, et sans jamais disputer avec lui. Je me dis : Commençons par me faire un magasin d’idées, vraies ou fausses, mais nettes, en attendant que ma tête en soit assez fournie pour pouvoir les comparer et choisir.’

Such is the truest and most fruitful mental attitude in the presence of a great, informing mind; but it cannot be a permanent one. The time must come, it may be after weeks or months or years, when the vein of thought into which our spiritual master for the time being has introduced us shall be worked out, and we shall have learnt all that he can teach us, all that he has to offer which our own minds are capable of assimilating. When that time has come, the posture of devout submission must be changed for that of clear, unbiassed, though grateful criticism. We must take stock of what we have derived from our late teacher but present fellow-pupil in the school of the universe, and see how much of it is absolute truth and a possession for ever, and how much incidental, personal, transient.

The great advantage of such a method is that any system of whatever kind—religious, philosophical, political—which we have thus studied, even after we have outgrown and can look back upon it as only a phase of thought or faith, remains as a part of ourselves, of our consciousness, of our past history; we know what it looks like when seen from within as well as from without, have been believers as well as critics. There can be little doubt that the mental experience of a thinker who had adopted such a method through

life would be far richer, deeper, and more valuable than that of one who had contented himself with merely studying from without the various systems of thought which had come in his way. It was in such a spirit, to quote one illustrious example, that Sainte Beuve lent himself to the Catholic Reaction which appeared to him to be the central current of the thought of Europe in his earlier days.

The best path to knowledge, however, is by no means always the easiest; and the price which we have to pay for this method is the pain of detaching ourselves at last from the teacher or system we have followed so long and faithfully. The teachers, moreover, are few on whom we can look back from the independent standpoint, with anything like the old habitual faith and admiration. Too often does the recollection of the once trusted guide on whom we pinned our faith so securely, or the scheme of philosophy which once seemed so self-evident and so all embracing, create, as we look back on it in after years, no other feeling than that of pensive amusement. None but the very greatest masters can command from the emancipated disciple the same measure of reverence which was unquestioningly awarded by the uncritical and enthusiastic pupil. One such teacher has recently passed from amongst us, and of his life and writings it is the purpose of this paper to attempt some slight account.

I.

Joseph Mazzini was born at Genoa, where his father was a respectable physician, in the year 1808. With a modesty characteristic of the man but almost to be regretted by his admirers, he persistently declined to write the story of his life, except so far as it was strictly connected with the political events in which he took a part. Save to his own immediate friends, therefore, little is known of his history till the year 1827, when his literary career began by the appearance in the *Subalpino Review* of an article on Dante. He warmly espoused the side of the Romantics in the literary warfare which they were then waging against the Classicists; but even then, as in after life, he showed that reverence for true order and true law which, combined with passionate abhorrence of wrongful law and tyranny, must always characterize the really great revolutionary leader. He was repelled, as he tells us, by the anarchy which prevailed in the camp and writings of his own party, who were, indeed 'intolerant of every tyranny, but ignorant also of the sacredness of the law which governs art as well as every other thing.'

'And it is a part of this law,' he continues, 'that all true art must either sum up and express the life of a closing epoch, or announce and proclaim the life of the epoch destined to succeed it. . . Amongst us Italians no other than the prophetic form of art was possible.

Art could only arise amongst us to inscribe a maledictory epitaph upon the last three centuries, and sing the canticle of the future . . . But to do this, the special bias and tendency of individual inspiration required to be nourished by the aspiration of the collective life of Italy. . . but the collective life of Italy was uncertain and indefinite ; it lacked a centre, oneness of ideal, and all regular and organized mode of manifestation. Art, therefore, could only reveal itself among us by fits, in isolated and volcanic outbursts. . . Without a country, and without liberty, we might perhaps produce some prophets of art, but no vital art.'

These considerations determined Mazzini to abandon the idea of a literary career, towards which the natural bias of his own mind strongly inclined him, and to devote himself to the political problem of the Unity and freedom of Italy. This, he tells us, was his first great sacrifice. The only weapon, however, of a revolutionist in those days was his pen, and Mazzini employed his in writing brief descriptions of books for sale, which he induced the editor of a commercial magazine, the *Indicatore Genovese*, to admit into his columns as advertisements. By slow degrees the advertisements grew into articles, and the *Indicatore* became a literary and finally a political paper, and as such was suppressed by the Sardinian Government. Its publication, however, was carried on at Leghorn, under the title of the *Indicatore Livornese*, until it was again stopped by the Government of Tuscany.

It was in these days that Mazzini was initiated into the Order of the Carbonari, an association which he was induced to join, not by admiration of the 'complex symbolism, the hierarchical mysteries, or the political faith, or rather the absence of all political faith' by which it was characterized ; but because he was not then in a position to originate a society on his own principles, and because he found the Carbonari to be a 'body of men in whom, however inferior they were to the idea they represented, thought and action, faith and works, were identical.'

'And,' he continues, 'now that my hair is grey, I still believe that next to the capacity of rightly leading, the greatest merit consists in knowing how and when to follow ;'—a remark of which the appreciation was never more needed than now among that large class who sacrifice at the shrine of their own individuality the power for good which they might acquire by collective action.

Before joining the Carbonari, Mazzini had not, as we perceive, formed any extravagant estimate of their pretensions ; but after initiation he found their besetting sins to be irrational distrust of Italy, and blind confidence in France, or, as they themselves called it, Cosmopolitanism. His connection with the order does not seem to have been very close, but he was betrayed to the Government by a spy whom he had initiated, and confined for some months in the

fortress of Savona—while the only answer which his afflicted father could obtain from the Governor of Genoa was that his son was ‘a young man of talent, very fond of solitary walks by night and habitually silent as to the subject of his meditations, and that the Government was not fond of young men of talent the subject of whose musings was unknown to it.’

Here, in his narrow cell, from which nothing could be seen but sea and sky, with no books but a Bible, a Tacitus, and a Byron, and no living companion but a *lucherino* or greenfinch, lonely reflection convinced him that Carbonarism was powerless, and that ‘instead of wasting time and energy in the endeavour to galvanize a corpse, it would be better to address himself to the living, and seek to found a new edifice upon a new basis.’ The result of this conviction was the Association of Young Italy.

His hopes were not confined to the awakening from her trance of Italy alone; he was animated by a presentiment that ‘regenerate Italy was destined to arise the initiatrix of a new life and a new and powerful Unity to all the nations of Europe.’ He saw that ‘authority—true, righteous, and holy authority—the search after which, whether conscious or not, is in fact the secret of our human life,’ was extinct in Europe, and that therefore the initiative power was no longer possessed by any European nation.

‘The worship of Rome,’ he writes, ‘was a part of my being. The great Unity, the one Life of the world had twice been elaborated within her walls. . . To none save her had it been given twice to guide and direct the world. . . Why should not a new Rome, the Rome of the Italian people—portents of whose coming I deemed I saw—arise to create a third and still vaster unity; to link together and harmonise earth and heaven, right and duty; and to utter, not to individuals but to peoples, the great word Association.’

Such were the musings in his prison at Savona of the founder of Young Italy, the Society to whose efforts it is mainly due that even such progress as Italy has already made has been possible.

After some months of detention Mazzini was acquitted by the Senate, but was ordered by Carlo Felice, the then King, either to leave Italy, or to reside in some small town in the interior. He chose the former alternative, and after parting from his father (whom he never saw again) and his mother, passed through Savoy to Geneva. Here he met Sismondi, with whom, though attracted by his courtesy and amiability, he was evidently disappointed, and of whom he writes:—

‘His intellectual grasp did not go beyond the doctrine of rights, and its only logical consequence, liberty. Moreover, his personal friendship for the leaders of the *doctrinaire* school—Cousin, Guizot, and Villemain—evidently clouded his judgment both of men and

things. He had become imbued with Federalism, which he preached as the ideal of political organization to the many Italian exiles by whom he was surrounded, and who all drew their ideas and inspiration from his lips. There was not a single man among them who dreamed of the possibility, or even the desirability of Unity.'

From Geneva Mazzini passed on to Lyons, where a number of Italian exiles had congregated with a view to a projected invasion of Savoy, which was at first tolerated, but afterwards crushed by the Government of Louis Philippe. Many of the refugees were hunted down, but Mazzini with a few others escaped to Corsica, intending from thence to assist the insurrection in Central Italy, which, however, owing to various delays, was put down by the Austrian Government before their measures could be matured; and he gained nothing by this movement except a favourable impression of the Corsican character. Hopes of action being at an end, Mazzini returned to Marseilles, whence, in 1831, he wrote his celebrated letter to Charles Albert, the conspirator king, who had been a Carbonaro in 1820, and from whose accession in consequence the liberal party in Italy expected much. Mazzini did not himself share these expectations, but he wrote the letter because he found that the hopes entertained of the king interfered with his cherished design of organizing the Society of Young Italy, and was anxious to raise a decisive issue which might be speedily solved. This letter reminds the king of the high hopes aroused in the mind of liberal Italy by the accession to power of the man of 1821, and assures him that there are but two paths open to him, a system of terror, and a system of concessions. He is warned of the danger of the first—'Blood calls for blood, and the dagger of the conspirator is never so terrible as when sharpened on the tombstone of the martyr;' and reminded that the latter would prove abortive unless accompanied by a guarantee of fixed institutions, and a recognition of the sovereignty of the people; 'the people are no longer to be quieted by a few concessions. . . They have drained the cup of slavery to the dregs, but they have sworn never to fill it again.' The king, it is added, may, if he fails in his duty, retard, though neither he nor anything else can prevent the fulfilment of the destiny of Italy; and the letter concludes with the words—'Sire, I have spoken to you the truth. The men of freedom await your answer in your deeds. Whatever that answer be, rest assured that posterity will either hail your name as that of the greatest of men, or the last of Italian tyrants. Take your choice.'

The reply was a decree of perpetual banishment against the writer; and Mazzini, hardening his heart, and the hearts of others, against the monarchical principle, founded at Marseilles the Association of Young Italy, and drew up rules for the guidance of

its members. The constituent ideas of this society, and the watchwords inscribed upon its banner of red, white, and green were 'Liberty, Equality, Humanity, Independence, Unity;' and its members were described as 'a brotherhood of Italians who believe in a law of Progress and Duty,' and are convinced that Italy is destined, and has sufficient intrinsic strength to become one nation. The principles of the society were Republican and Unitarian (as opposed to Federalist); Republican, because the Republic is the only form of government which logically embodies the ruling idea of our age, Association, because there were no monarchical elements in Italy, neither a powerful and respected aristocracy, nor a royal dynasty endeared to the people by glory or past services; and because the traditional glories of Italy were Republican;—and Unitarian, because 'without Unity of religious belief and social fact, of civil, political, and penal legislation, there is no true nation.' 'Both initiators and initiated must never forget that the moral application of every principle is the first and most essential . . . and that Young Italy must be neither a sect nor a party, but a faith and an apostolate.' The means to be adopted by the society for the realisation of its aims were education and insurrection, to be adopted simultaneously and made to harmonize. A distinction is drawn between the period of insurrection and that of revolution. 'The revolution begins as soon as the insurrection is triumphant.' To descend from the speculative to the financial part of the society's programme, the monthly contribution of each member was fixed at minimum of 50 centimes, but all who could afford to pay more were to do so. Such is a brief outline of the constitution of Young Italy, whose foundation 'closed the period of political sects, and initiated that of educational associations.'

To the journal published by the society Mazzini was the chief contributor, but his articles were for the most part of too exclusively an Italian interest to be quoted here. It was but for a short time, however, that he was left unmolested; and this time it was by a decree of the French Government of August 1832 that he was banished from France. Being unwilling to abandon the system of communication which had been organised between Marseilles and Italy, he stayed on in concealment, notwithstanding the decree, for twelve months, writing, corresponding, and holding interviews.

It was at this period that the absurd and groundless slander of having procured the assassination of one Emilian, an ex-groom to the Duke of Modena, was circulated against Mazzini in the *Moniteur*.

The calumny was so utterly baseless, and has been so conclusively refuted, that there is no need to discuss it here. It would

probably never have been heard of in England, had not Sir James Graham revived it in the House of Commons in 1845, and so tenacious is a slander, once promulgated, of life, that although he was compelled to make a public apology, we believe there are still a large number of worthy people whose only idea of Mazzini is that of an assassin and a man of blood; a misconception which would be ludicrous, were it not painful, to any one who has ever read half-a-dozen pages of his writings.

While still in hiding at Marseilles, Mazzini published, in the journal of Young Italy, 'Thoughts addressed to the Priests of Italy,' a kind of sequel to which appeared thirty-seven years afterwards in the *Fortnightly Review* for June 1870, under the head of a 'Letter to the members of the Œcumenical Council, (which latter, we may remark *en passant*, is, even through the veil of a translation, the most perfect combination of imaginative eloquence, rigorous logic, and impassioned, because sincere, denunciation, that we have ever met with in the English language). The chief characteristic of the earlier paper is the passionate, almost affectionate, tone in which it adjures the Italian priesthood to put themselves at the head of the national movement, and to lead the people in the path of freedom. It was an appeal 'from the Pope to the Council;' its sequel, 'from the Council to God.'

Meanwhile, the power of the society had been rapidly increasing, especially in Lombardy, the Genoese territory, Tuscany, and the States of the Church; and prompt action against Austria was decided on; Mazzini decided that the revolution should begin in the Sardinian States, and Genoa and Alexandria were fixed on as the centres of the movement. Before leaving Marseilles for Genoa in order to organize the invasion of Savoy, Mazzini was anxious to come to an understanding with the French Republicans, Cavaignac and the party of the *Tribune*, Carrel and that of the *National*. Carrel came to Marseilles at his request, and it is interesting to compare the impression he made on Mazzini with that recorded in Mr. Mill's able article on the same man. The judgment of the Positivist is naturally more favourable to Carrel than that of the Idealist; yet Mazzini speaks of him in very high terms. He had the same quarrel with him as with Sismondi, that he had not advanced beyond the doctrine of rights, with its logical consequences, individualism and federalism. 'His intellect, acute and analytic rather than vast, had been educated in the materialist school. . . . He understood many of the aspirations of the age, but only felt the aspiration after liberty. Carrel's ideal was the Republic; such as it exists in America where the individual is sovereign and personal right is supreme, but where the social mission of the governing power is ill understood. Beyond that ideal he was unwilling to look, and all social questions terrified him.'

Mazzini describes him as—

'A man of aristocratic bearing, cold in appearance, but very capable of energy when required. Unmistakeably honest, he was one whose word inspired absolute confidence. He was more attached to the Republic than to the Republicans. . . . He died in the breach, a Republican as he had lived, free from all base motives, from all immorality, or servile desire of wealth and power, loved by the few who knew him intimately, and respected even by his enemies.

It was agreed between them that if the movement in Italy succeeded, Carrel should unite with Cavaignac in helping forward the revolution in Paris and Lyons. But the movement in Italy did not succeed. Its existence was betrayed to the Government by some rash word spoken in a quarrel between two artillerymen, one of whom was a member of the Association; and then came arrests, and imprisonments, and artifices of every kind to make the conspirators betray one another, in too many cases with success. Numerous executions followed rapidly on what were practically mock trials. Mazzini himself, though beyond the reach of the Government, was condemned to death. Jacopo Ruffini, his earliest and most devoted friend, to whom he was passionately attached, committed suicide in prison to avoid the stratagems practised by his jailors to induce him to divulge the names of his associates. The hopes of the leaders of Young Italy were dashed by this reverse, but by no means crushed, for they almost immediately began a second attempt on Savoy through Switzerland. The history of this movement is too complex to follow in detail here; suffice it to say that it failed through the treachery of Ramorino, one of those Cosmopolitan soldiers of democracy who have been created by the cycle of European revolutions during the last fifty years, and to whom, contrary to the wishes of Mazzini, the conduct of the enterprise was entrusted.

Thus the first period of Young Italy ended in a defeat.

Failure was followed by persecution. From France, from Naples, from Russia, from Austria, came a shower of diplomatic notes demanding the expulsion of the exiles. Many were seized, and sent to England and America. Some sheltered themselves in villages under feigned names. Mazzini, with three friends, left Geneva, and remained for a time concealed in Lausanne, and afterwards, more openly, at Berne; where, in April 1834, eighteen of the refugees, Poles, Germans, and Italians, met together to draw up a 'Pact of Fraternity,' as the basis of the 'Society of Young Europe' which was intended to be to the liberal party of Europe, what Young Italy was to the Italian liberals. Its principles, like those of Young Italy, were primarily religious, and only secondarily political; and its object was to organize a Republican federation throughout

Europe, so that any nation arising in insurrection might at once find others ready to assist it. Vast as was the design, Mazzini, its author, knew that no immediate practical results could be expected from it. His only aim was 'to constitute an apostolate of ideas different from those then current, and to leave them to bear fruit how and where they might.'

While at Berne, Mazzini was in correspondence with Lamennais, who, to his great regret, had expressed the conviction that Italy was too feeble to work out her own salvation from the Austrian, and whom he eloquently entreated to reconsider that opinion, and not to judge of the future of Italy by her past.

The growing influence of Mazzini and his party at Berne attracted the notice of the French Government; and the Duke of Montebello, minister of that Louis Philippe who had himself been sheltered in Switzerland during his misfortunes, rudely informed the central Government that if Switzerland did not cease all toleration of the 'incorrigible enemies of the repose of Governments, France would take the matter into her own hands.' Under this pressure the Swiss Government, which had previously faltered, gave way altogether, and by an order of the Diet in 1836, Mazzini was condemned to perpetual exile from Switzerland. He remained for a time, in spite of this decree, but finally made his way to London, where he arrived in January 1837. His last months in Switzerland and his first in London were perhaps the most painful period of his life. In London he was homeless, friendless, and, for a time, almost penniless. But in Switzerland he knew the greater bitterness of overwhelming spiritual doubt. There he underwent that exquisitely painful experience which, soon or late, comes to most men devoted to an idea, the agonising suspicion that the world might after all be right, and himself wrong; that the cause for which he had sacrificed home, country, friends, and all hopes of individual happiness might be an illusion; that, led away by visionary enthusiasm, he might have neglected the duties that lay at his hand, and sacrificed in a hopeless struggle the lives of many brave men; that the Unity and freedom of Republican Italy might indeed be after all an impracticable dream. The last drop in this bitter cup was the consciousness that the purity of his motives and their freedom from personal ambition were suspected by the two or three intimate friends who had clung to him through past trials. His mental sufferings at this time drove him to the verge of madness. But when he did emerge from the fiery trial it was with a retempered soul, for ever lifted above all doubt or questioning of the truth of the cause to which his whole life was one long sacrifice. It is more particularly from this period that one can trace that *impersonality*, that absolute incapacity for being swayed by the ordinary temptations of ease or pleasure or gain, and that utter,

almost superhuman, disregard for his own individual happiness, which characterised him in a degree only paralleled in the lives of the greatest mediæval saints. To quote his own words :

'One morning I awoke to find my mind tranquil and my spirit calmed, as one who has passed through a great danger. The first moment of waking had always been one of great wretchedness with me ; it was a return to an existence of little other than suffering, and during those months of which I have spoken, that first moment had been, as it were, a summing up of all the unutterable misery I should have to go through during the day. But on that morning it seemed as if nature smiled a smile of consolation upon me, and the light of day appeared to bless and revive the life in my weary frame. The first thought that passed across my spirit was : *your sufferings are the temptation of egotism and arise from a misconception of life.* I set myself to re-examine—now that I could do so calmly—both myself and surrounding things. I rebuilt my entire edifice of moral philosophy. . . . Christianity had defined life as expiation. . . . The Materialism of the eighteenth century had gone back two thousand years to repeat the definition of life as a search after happiness. . . . I perceived that although every instinct of my soul rebelled against that fatal and ignoble definition, yet I had not completely freed myself from the dominating influence exercised by it upon the age, and tacitly nourished in me by my early French studies, and by the admiration I felt for those who had preached that doctrine. . . . I had combated the evil in others, but not sufficiently in myself. In my own case, and as if the better to seduce me, that false definition of life had thrown off every baser stamp of material desires, and had centred itself in the affections as in an inviolable sanctuary. I ought to have regarded them as a blessing of God, to be accepted with gratitude wherever it descended to irradiate or cheer my existence, not demanded them as a right or a reward. I had unconsciously made of them the condition of the fulfilment of my duties. I had been unable to realise the true ideal of love, love without earthly hope, and had unknowingly worshipped, not love itself, but the joys of love. When these vanished, I had despaired of all things ; as if the joys and sorrows I encountered on the path of life could alter the aim I had aspired to reach ; as if the darkness or serenity of Heaven could change the purpose or necessity of the journey. Life is a mission. . . . Every existence is an aim, and that aim is *one*, to develop and bring into action all the faculties which constitute and lie dormant in Humanity, and cause them harmoniously to combine towards the discovery and application of the law of life. . . . Life is a mission ; duty, therefore, its highest law. In the comprehension of that mission and fulfilment of that duty lie our means of future

progress, the secret of the stage of existence into which we shall be initiated at the conclusion of this earthly stage. . . . I bade a long sad farewell to all individual hopes for me on earth. I dug with my own hands the grave, not of my affections—God is my witness that now, greyheaded, I feel them yet as in the days of my earliest youth—but of all the desires, exigencies, ineffable comforts of affection; and I covered the earth over that grave, so that none might ever know the *ego* buried underneath.’

Never again did he waver one hair’s breadth from the path of duty.

The record of his life in London is sad enough. There is a touching pathos, for him who has eyes to see it, in the few and simple details which he gives of the straits to which he was at first reduced by poverty; but space fails us, and we must leave them untouched on. His days were chiefly occupied in literary work and continental correspondence; but he found time to do a great deal, in a quiet, unostentatious way, to alleviate the condition of the poorer Italians in London, and especially of the unhappy organ boys, who had been induced by false representations to leave their homes. He established a gratuitous night school for these lads in Hatton Garden, which was open from 1841—48. The teaching was carried on by himself, with a few educated Italians and a few working men, all of whom were poor, and all unpaid. The priests of the Sardinian Chapel vigorously opposed this work, but their efforts proving unavailing, they were reduced to opening a school of their own in the same street. An association of Italian working men was also formed by Mazzini, and a journal called the *Apostolato Popolare* (in which the ‘Duties of Man’ first appeared), was published.

In 1844 occurred the incident, so disgraceful to the Peel ministry in general, and the Home Secretary in particular, of the opening of Mazzini’s letters, with a view to informing the Austrian Government of their contents. It was this affair which first brought him into public notice in England, and elicited a letter to the *Times* from Mr. Carlyle, in which the latter, while characteristically declaring his willing ignorance of ‘Italian democracies and Young Italy’s sorrow, of extraneous Austrian Emperors in Milan, or poor old chimerical popes at Bologna,’ thus writes:—‘I have had the honour to know M. Mazzini for a series of years; and whatever I may think of his practical insight and skill in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify to all men that he, if ever I have seen such, is a man of genius and virtue, a man of sterling veracity, humanity, and nobleness of mind, one of those rare men, numerable, unfortunately, but as units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls; who in silence, piously in their daily life, understand and practise what is meant by that.’

Higher or more emphatic testimony from one of such diametrically opposite modes of thought, it would be difficult to imagine.

Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, better known as 'honest Tom Duncombe,' was the man to whom Mazzini entrusted his case. An enquiry was demanded in the House, and great indignation resulted; from which Sir James Graham attempted to shelter himself, partly by appealing to an obsolete Act of Parliament, partly by the calumny for which, as already related, he was obliged to make a public apology. This affair induced Mazzini to write a letter to Sir James Graham, entitled 'Italy, Austria, and the Pope,' in which, to save the Government the trouble of opening his letters in future, he openly stated his ideas and policy on the Italian question.

During the ten years that he passed in England, Mazzini learnt to love her as a second country. Though he was far from blind to our faults, there is always a certain touch of tenderness underlying even his occasional denunciations of the many sins, chiefly of omission, chargeable against England by liberals, and especials by all continental liberals. He had more, and more devotedly attached, friends in England than in any of the other countries in which his life of exile was passed: more, perhaps, than even in his own Italy.

His stay in England, which would for most men have been a period of unusual activity, but was for him, comparatively speaking, one of pause, was terminated, or rather interrupted, by the great events in Italy of 1848-49. We can only mention the war of Charles Albert with Austria, and the Republican war with Austria and France, the first so shameful, the latter so noble, but inevitably destined to defeat by the cowardice and blunders of the monarchy that preceded it. It was then that the life of Mazzini culminated in those three glorious months from the 29th March to the 30th June 1849, during which he was the guiding spirit of Rome, of Rome in her hour of supreme struggle, though not of triumph.

'Rome,' he writes, 'was the dream of my young years; the generating idea of my mental conception; the keystone of my intellectual edifice; the religion of my soul; and I entered the city one evening early in March with a deep sense of awe, almost of worship. Rome was to me, as in spite of her present degradation she still is, the temple of Humanity. From Rome will one day spring the religious transformation destined for the third time to bestow moral unity upon Europe. I had journeyed towards the sacred city with a heart sick unto death from the defeat of Lombardy, the new deception I had met with in Tuscany, and the dismemberment of our Republican party over the whole of Italy. Yet, nevertheless, as I passed through the *Porta del Popolo*, I felt an electric thrill run through me, a spring of new life. I shall

never see Rome more ; but the memory of her will mingle with my dying thought of God and my best beloved ; and wheresoever fate may lay my bones, I believe they will know once more the thrill that ran through me then, on the day when the republican banner shall be planted in pledge of the unity of our Italy upon the Vatican and Capitol.'

Before his arrival he had been elected a Deputy, and on March 29th was chosen *Triumvir*, with Saffi and Arminelli as his colleagues. Then followed the greatest political crime ever committed by a nation calling itself liberal and republican, the murder of the Roman Republic by republican France. To this shameful deed France was seduced by a designing majority, headed by her evil genius, Louis Napoleon. It would be hard to say whether the events of 1849, of 1852, or of 1870 form the darkest passages in that murderous and cowardly career ; but for pure superfluity of hypocritical, selfish malice, we are inclined to award the palm to the earlier year. It was reserved for the nephew and would-be imitator of the man who from his solitude in St. Helena declared that 'unity of languages, of manners, of literature, show that Italy is destined to form a single country,' to retard, for he could not prevent, the growing germ of Italian nationality ; for the President of the French Republic, to crush perhaps the purest and most heroic Republic that modern Europe has seen.

After the fall of Rome before the combined force of the French army and the treachery of General Oudinot, Mazzini stayed openly for a week at Rome, as a private individual ; and during this time not a single accusation was made against him by the numerous papal partisans in the city ;—a fact which triumphantly refutes the calumnies of terrorism and corruption so industriously circulated by the French Government of the day. On leaving Rome he proceeded to Marseilles, and passed on to Switzerland, whence he wrote the letter to Messrs. De Tocqueville and De Falloux, ministers of France, of which the damning evidence, the merciless logic, and the terrible, contemptuous invective must have pierced even that somewhat callous thing, the conscience of the Government to which it was addressed.

At this point Mazzini's memoir closes. His life henceforth was, for the most part, one of calm, though active endurance. He shortly returned to England, where, with brief intervals of continental travel, he resided till the recent Italian revolution, living the same simple unassuming life as before. The imprisonment at Gaeta, the closing scene at Pisa, are too recent to need to be recorded here.

II.

The writings of a man who has lived a life of storm and exile such as that of which we have just traced the outline, a life devoted

in the very teeth of opposing circumstances, to the practical realisation of a religious, social, and political idea, might be expected to be of a somewhat fragmentary kind, and to have appeared, as Mazzini's writings did for the most part appear, in the form of pamphlets, reviews, and journals. To this cause it is in great measure due that very few people are aware of the amount of influence which they have exercised on the English thought of the last thirty years. Though never widely read himself, he has been the teacher of most of the popular instructors; and we have no hesitation in saying that there is hardly a cultivated liberal in England who does not, consciously or unconsciously, owe to this source much of what is most valuable in his literary and political education. This teaching has taken some time to filter down to the level of that vague but important class, the 'intellectual public,' who, without possessing any marked literary or philosophical aptitude, take a certain interest in intellectual pursuits; and its origin has been so much obscured in the process that not a few would be surprised, on reading his works for the first time, to find that ideas which they had recently, and with a sense of novelty, imbibed from able editors and enlightened reviewers, were preached, not hesitatingly or tentatively, but with the full assurance of a prophet, as much as thirty, or even forty years ago, in journals of which they probably never heard, and which have long since ceased to exist.

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Mazzini's genius is the singular combination which it presents of vastness and profundity with a more than womanly tenderness and insight into every shade of gentler feeling. His mind when at its best moves in gigantic flights, at an elevation where all dualism between thought and emotion, intellect and sentiment has ceased, and the two seem blended into one harmonious spiritual whole. Yet with all this largeness of sweep and range, he is never hard or bitter, never blind to the beauty even of the dead past, always tenderly stern towards the sinner in spite of his indignation against the sin. The basis of his spiritual life was one great primary idea, which he proclaimed with the same unfaltering assurance from the beginning to the end of his career. And that idea was that the age of individualism, rights, and liberty has, in the intellectual sphere, and to some extent in the practical sphere also, been brought to a close, and must be succeeded wherever, and as fast as, it is worked out by the age of association, duties, and true authority. To this great conception, which is rapidly taking its place among admitted truths, may be traced most of the more specific doctrines which combine with it to form Mazzini's contribution to the thought of the day.

Before touching on the literary and critical writings included in this collection, it may be well to consider the point of view from

which their author regarded the long vexed question of the aim and scope of art, of the theory of artistic effort, *viz.*, to put it in its crudest and most naked form, Does art aim at the beautiful or at the good? The commonplace answer of course is that neither one or the other is the exclusive aim of art, but the beautiful only so far as it is good, and the good only so far as it is beautiful; but the inadequacy of such a reply is too obvious to require comment, and we must go somewhat deeper to find a real solution.

It may be laid down as a general rule that when of two apparently conflicting ideas each irresistibly recommends itself to our consciousness, there must be some vaster synthesis behind or underlying them which comprehends and reconciles them in itself. This principle may, if followed out, point to at least an approximate solution of a question which does not, perhaps, at present admit of being completely answered. Thus, the object of every department of human effort is twofold; special, or the attainment of proficiency in its own particular branch; and general, or the attainment of universal and harmonious perfection. Now, perfection is manifold, and art aims primarily at its beautiful side; but in so doing she must not sin against the other sides, the true, the just, the pure. If she does so sin, it is at her own peril, for thereby she will inevitably fall short, so far, of perfection even in her own sphere. Passion for instance, to be perfect, must be pure. Such, or something like this, is Mazzini's answer to the question above stated. His works are in themselves an embodied protest against the doctrine of 'Art for Art's sake,' which he combated so often and so earnestly. He never wrote for the sake of writing, never because he had to say something, but always, because he had something to say. It was his deepest conviction that human life is *one*, and can only be rightly guided by a religious conception pervading and interpenetrating all its departments. Politics he held to be the application of religion, and art and literature to be the expression and embodiment of the religious spirit working in the sphere of beauty.

But we must quote his own words:—

'Truth is one, and governs every manifestation of life. Every stage of the education of humanity, or of a single nation, is presided over by a social thought, expressing and representing the degree of progress in course of achievement. Religion, art, politics, industry, all express and promote this thought in methods varying according to their special mission, and the elements over which their influence extends. Genius, the spirit gifted with exceptional power—may either sum up the past, or prophesy the future; but the collective literature, the art of one or of many nations, is inspired and informed solely by the immediate social aim of the epoch. The special aim of art is to excite mankind

to reduce thought to action. Philosophy, since its earliest existence, has almost always been the repository of the ruling thought of its epoch. But that thought, while confined to the region of philosophy, is unfruitful; the object of mere individual contemplation, it is incapable of modifying social life, unable to incarnate itself in and direct the action of mankind. Religion seizes upon that thought, relinks it to heaven, gives it the consecration of a divine origin and of a future; then, setting it on high as the supreme law and aim of human action, transforms the world through it. The ministry of art is similar. Art seizes upon the idea lying inactive in the mind, to instil it into the heart, confides it to the affections, and converts it into a passion which transforms man from a thinker into an apostle. The thought of the epoch in our nation is the creation of an Italy, great and free. and the thought of the epoch in humanity, whatever appearances may say to the contrary, is a religious transformation. A new heaven and a new earth—is this a narrow field for the future art of Italy?

‘There are two errors that threaten art:—the theory that it is an imitation of nature, and the theory that would make self-worship its ruling law, and has created the formula of ‘art for art’s sake.’ The first would deprive it of all spontaneous individual life; the second breaks the link that binds it to the universe. the first theory renders art useless, the second, dangerous; both condemn it to sterility. Art does not imitate but interpret. Nature is for art the garb of the Eternal. . . . the opposite theory reduces the poet to a level with the photographer.

‘Art is not the fancy or caprice of an individual. It is the mighty voice of God and the Universe, as heard by the chosen spirit, and repeated in tones of harmony to mankind. Art is no isolated, unconnected, or inexplicable phenomenon. It draws its life from the life of the Universe, and with the Universe it ascends from epoch to epoch towards the Almighty.’

These passages are from Mazzini’s preface to the edition of his literary and critical writings now before us, dated 1861; but they are merely a condensation of what he had written thirty years previously in the *Indicatore Livornese* and the *Antologia*. The ideas are now, fortunately, almost trite, but they were novel enough when he first became their mouthpiece.

Of the articles included in this collection the most noticeable are those on the poems of Victor Hugo, and of Lamartine, two articles on Carlyle, and one on Byron and Goethe.

The papers on Hugo and Lamartine were published in the *British and Foreign Review* in 1838 and 1839, respectively. They are devoted to the examination of the causes of the incompleteness and gradual deterioration of the two great French

poets, and show how by somewhat different paths they arrive at a similar result. To begin with Victor Hugo, the decline of faith, joyousness, spontaneity successively exhibited in the *Feuilles d'Automne*, the *Chants du Crépuscule*, and finally in the *Voix Intérieures*, is pointed out. 'At his outset he hoped to invent creeds, now he is content with bearing witness to them.' And the sense of impotence in which he is landed is ascribed to this, that whereas he 'desired to effect a literary revolution, not in forms only (that he has achieved), but in essentials, to change both the starting point and the goal of poetry, to reknit the broken alliance between creeds and literature, between poetry and faith—an aim which nothing short of a great religious conception, higher than the age to whose diseases it was to minister, could suffice to effect—he has failed to work under the guidance of any such conception. Received opinion in France had, up to Hugo's time, been pretty much to the effect that the Universe could be divided into two parts by a hard and fast line, on one side of which were to be found poetry and beauty, and on the other ugliness and prose; and the sphere of art was held to lie exclusively on the side of the beautiful. Hugo determined to restore to poetry that half of the world which had hitherto been lost to her. 'What we call ugly,' he says, 'harmonises not with man but with creation;' and his career, as poet, dramatist, or novelist, has been a varying commentary on this one idea of *rehabilitation*, as of the actress in *Angelo*, of the buffoon in *Le Roi s'amuse*, of physical deformity in *Notre Dame*, of guilt in *Lucrece Borgia*, of the fallen woman in *Marion Delorme*, of the criminal in *Les Derniers Jours d'un Condamné*.' 'This,' says Mazzini, 'is a grand and beautiful thought, at once moral and profoundly artistic. . . . but to the poet who undertakes to realise this view of art, a previous conception of the general order, a deep sense of the universal life and harmony . . . are indispensable . . . in other words, if we would rehabilitate an individual, man or thing, we must rise above it . . . from the point of view of the universe only can the real value of things be recognized and appreciated; from the point of view of humanity only can the real value and destinies of man be recognized and appreciated. Man, Humanity, God; such is the triangle in which the poet who would achieve the task undertaken by Victor Hugo must move.'

Now this he has not done, and therefore he has failed. 'Victor Hugo has remained the poet of individuality in the full sense of the expression. Never, hardly ever, has he risen above it; never does he universalize life, never attain to a conception of unity. He is an objective poet, for ever governed by what is external to himself, ever drawn away from mind to matter, from the idea to the symbol, from the essence to the form.' All this accounts

for his failure, for the exhibition in his poems of the idea enslaved by form, of mind absorbed by matter, instead of illuminating it 'like flame through alabaster,' for the constant descent in his poetry from the deity to the symbol, instead of the ascent from the symbol to the deity. 'Humanity plays no part in his verses. Of the three points of the triangle he retains only two; i.e., God and man.' Hence doubt, uncertainty, wavering; 'for man must always appear enveloped in doubt so long as he is not contemplated from the point of view of humanity. From the species only can the law governing the individual be learned. Only by taking the idea of man's mission here on earth as our starting point, are religion, philosophy, or poetry at the present day possible.'

The article on Lamartine points out the decline from the *Méditations* exhibited by *La Chute d'un Ange*, and traces it to the same causes as those which produced the fall of Victor Hugo. 'Like him, M. Lamartine, influenced by the instincts of his age and of his own talent, proposed to himself as his object, human rehabilitation from the religious point of view; like him he has proved short-sighted and incompetent to perceive that the only rehabilitation for the individual is through the species.'

Vague uncertainty, sterility of ideas, superfluity of forms, monotony, or delusive material variety, such is the position reached by somewhat divergent paths, of Victor Hugo and Lamartine, 'the two most powerful poets of France of the nineteenth century, the two heads of the Romantic school, the only difference between whom is caused by the peculiar temper of the talent of each. The one, more naturally serious, more objective, more dramatic—despite his bad dramas—more powerful, perhaps, takes the God and imprisons him in the symbol; he is an idolator, a pagan. The other, more narrow-minded, more subjective, more lyrical—at bottom, perhaps, more religious—absorbs the symbol in the God, the creature in the Creator; he is a pantheist, an orientalist. The connecting link, the graduated scale, escapes both; the moral effect of their strains is identical, neither the one nor the other is a religious educator poet, the poet of the future. The future of art is not there. The progress of ideas has little by little changed the point of view of philosophy, of science, of policy; art must advance with the world and similarly change its own. What has hitherto been its end must no longer serve as aught but a starting point. . . . Man will yield precedence to humanity—*will yield precedence*, not be *obliterated*, for nothing that has been is obliterated. Individuality is sacred, for it is an essential element upon this earth, but it must henceforward harmonise with the social conception.'

Criticism such as this is sufficiently rare still to enable us in

some degree to appreciate its novelty when first published, more than thirty years ago.

His articles on Carlyle, however, have probably had more direct influence in England than any other of Mazzini's writings. It is not too much to say that the keynote of all recent criticism of Carlyle is struck in these pages which first appeared in the *British and Foreign Review* in 1843, the time when the great 'Germanized Scotchman' was the most perplexingly dazzling phenomenon in contemporary English literature. The estimate which a man forms of Carlyle is, even now, no bad test of his appreciative faculty; but thirty years ago it was probably the most decisive criterion possible. Most people have by this time made up their minds that Mr. Carlyle's social and political opinions are not such as it would be desirable to put into practice. Slavery and autocracy can hardly be accepted as satisfactory principles by the most retrograde *bourgeois* who breathes the intellectual atmosphere of England in the year of grace 1873. But a much more important and interesting question than the correctness or incorrectness of Mr. Carlyle's opinions is the further question, How did such a man, who seems to have naturally all the qualities which go to make a democrat and a reformer, come to hold such opinions? This question was raised in the pages before us nearly thirty years ago, and answered at least as satisfactorily as it has ever been answered since. Mr. John Morley's excellent essay on Carlyle, the most recent and probably the best extant writing on the man, is, so far, at least, as regards this part of the subject, merely an elaboration of what Mazzini wrote in 1843.

While fully acknowledging his enormous intellectual, or rather spiritual force, and the good work which it has done as a solvent and a tonic, Mazzini unanswerably (to our thinking, at least) demonstrates the inevitable sterility of the Carlylian method, or want of method; and, what is a great deal more, traces it to its origin in an erroneous, because defective, conception of the epoch, and of the law which governs its evolution. Carlyle, he says, has three great merits, and first of these is his palpable sincerity, which, combined with his freedom (in those days at least) from anything like spiteful bitterness, secures his greatest paradoxes a favourable hearing.

'I know no English writer who has during the last ten years so vigorously attacked the half Gothic, half pagan edifice which still imprisons the free flight of the spirit, no one who has thrown among a public much addicted to routine and formalism so many bold negations, so many religious and social views novel and contrary to any existing ones, yet no one who excites less of hostility and animadversion.'

Secondly, the spiritual or ideal view which he takes of life,

'the only essentially religious one, and one of extreme importance here especially, where the very men who battle the most boldly for social progress are led away by degrees to neglect the development of what is highest, holiest and most imperishable in man, and to devote themselves to the pursuit of what they call the useful. There is nothing useful but the good and that which it produces; usefulness is a consequence to be foreseen, not a principle to be invoked.'

Thirdly, elevation of his point of view.

'His horizon always extends beyond the limit of country; his criticism is never stamped with that spirit of nationalism (I do not say of nationality, a thing sacred to us all) which is only too much at work amongst us.' To Carlyle's powers as a literary artist too, at least ample justice is done, and then comes the inevitable "but."

Carlyle, says Mazzini, has but one fault, but that one is vital. 'It influences all he does, it determines all his views; for logic and system rule the intellect, even when the latter pretends the most to rise against them.' This error is his view of the collective intelligence of our times. The period now beginning is ruled in all its manifestations 'by the spirit of *Humanity* visibly substituting itself (for it has always been silently and unperceived at work) for the spirit of *man* . . . From the point of view of the individuals, we have gained the idea of right; we have worked out (were it only in thought) liberty and equality—the two great guarantees of all personality: we proceed further. We stammer out the words duty—that is to say, something which can only be derived from the general law—and Association—that is to say, something which requires a common object, a common belief We have begun to suspect that not only there is upon the earth something greater, more holy, more divine than the individual—namely Humanity, the collective Being always living, learning, advancing towards God, of which we are but the instruments; but also that it is only from the summit of this collective idea, from the conception of the Universal Mind, that we can derive our mission, the rule of our life, the aim of our societies. It signifies little that our first essays, St. Simonianism, Owenism, Fourierism are strange aberrations. That which is important is the idea common to all these doctrines, the starting point they take.'

Now, Carlyle—

'Comprehends only the individual He sympathises with all men, but it is with the separate life of each, and not with their collective life, Of the two criteria of certainty, individual conscience and universal tradition, between which mankind has hitherto perpetually fluctuated, and the reconcile-

ment of which appears to constitute the only means we possess of recognizing truth, he adopts only the first, and rejects, or at least wholly neglects, the other' God and the individual man—Mr. Carlyle sees no other object in the world. But how can the solitary individual approach God, unless by transport, by enthusiasm, by the unpremeditated, upward flight of the spirit, unshackled by method or calculation? Hence arise all Mr. Carlyle's antipathy to the labours of philosophy—his bitter and often violent censure of all who endeavour to transform the social state as it exists.'

It is only the existence of humanity that gives value and method to the life and acts of the individual, and Carlyle, forgetting this, is without a sound criterion whereby to estimate individual deeds and worth, and values them rather by the power expended than by the object aimed at. Hence that indifference which makes him not only esteem, but love equally men whose lives have been spent in pursuing contrary objects—Johnson and Cromwell for example. He desires the good everywhere, but cares not whence it comes, whether imposed by power, or the spontaneous impulse of a people; forgetting that 'the good is above all a moral question; that there is no good apart from consciousness of good; that it exists only where it is *achieved*, not *obtained* by man.' Mazzini then proceeds to combat the Carlylian doctrine of the unconsciousness of genius and asks whether it would not be better to attempt to cure the malady producing the 'self-sentience' and 'self-survey' against which Carlyle so fiercely declaims, than merely to suppress its symptoms.

All this is enough to account for the utter contempt with which Carlyle regards anything like political reform. 'One wise man more in the world would be to him a fact of more importance than ten political revolutions. It would be so to me also, were I able to create him, as Wagner does his Homunculus, by blowing on the furnaces,—if the changes in the political order of things did not precisely constitute the very preliminary steps indispensable to the creation of the just and wise man. This want of the political sense incapacitates Carlyle, with all his fine gifts of lifelike description, for forming a just conception of recent events, the nearness of which to his own time frightens him. 'The past has everything to expect from him, the present nothing—not even common justice. . . . He has written many admirable pages on Knox and Cromwell, but the chances are that he would have written as admirably, though less truly, against them, had he lived at the commencement of their struggles.'

Passing on to the 'History of the French Revolution,' Mazzini notices the unanimous praise with which its appearance was received by men of all parties as a proof that it was regarded as dangerous by none, and asks if it is possible that a book on such a

subject which is thus accepted by all parties can be a work of lasting usefulness. No ; indifference, not impartiality, is the characteristic of the book. Here, as elsewhere, Carlyle, blind to the principle of Association, ignoring or even denying the collective law of life and the unity of the divine idea, figuring great events as due to or modifiable by the accidents of individual will or caprice, merges 'the sacred mission of the historian' in the 'brilliant, ephemeral vocation of the artist,' as the latter term is at present used, signifying 'a being alike the offspring and parent of transitory impressions, idolator of the form and image, whose soulless and fugitive creations, evoked by the power of phantasy alone, are destitute of serious intent or purpose.'

And this is what Carlyle does when he says that if Mirabeau had lived one other year, or if Louis XVI. had shown greater firmness when captured, the history of France and of the world would have been changed. Much that is defective in Carlyle is traced to the influence of Goethe, and Mazzini expresses his 'profound conviction that neither from the principles nor sentiments of that great genius, perhaps the greatest of the epoch now closed, can we derive inspiration to lead us in the epoch to come. Goethe is like a magnificent tree, growing on the confines of two worlds, marvellous to behold, but fatal to all who rest beneath its shadow.'

Space forbids us to attempt anything like analysis of the paper on Byron and Goethe. It is an elucidation of the position from which it starts, that the two great singers were the supreme poetic expression, the final summing up—Byron of the subjective, Goethe of the objective side—of the spirit of the past epoch, of that principle of individuality of which England was the economic, France the political, and Germany the philosophic exponent. This paper too, we may observe, was first published in 1839.

We cannot close even so slight a sketch as this without referring to one of the most interesting incidents in the history of literary psychology—the extraordinary influence which Mazzini has exercised over the mind of probably the most powerful living English poet, whose genius, whatever may be thought of the direction it has taken, it is impossible to deny. There is not perhaps on record an alteration of tone and spirit at once so sudden and so profound as that exhibited by the intense, passionate whiteheat of faith and devotion that breathes and glows through the 'Song of Italy,' and yet more through the 'Songs before Sunrise,' from the fierce, desperate, jaded paganism which is the inspiring force of 'Poems and Ballads,' of 'Chastelard,' and, in a less degree, even of 'Atalanta in Calydon.' But this is only one, though perhaps to Englishmen the most notable, instance of the power which Mazzini has through life exercised over all who came in contact with him, the fascination of an exquisite personality.

Let us say in conclusion that Mazzini seems to us the most heroic figure of modern times. Since the days of St. Paul, no more romantic, no more pure, no more devoted life has been lived by any man than that which closed at Pisa on Sunday, March 10th, 1872. No man ever imported into political life a larger measure of imaginative genius, of indomitable resolution, or of incorruptible fidelity. As a writer, he is a prophet, and a politico-religious teacher, not an artist. His object is to produce, not admiration, but conviction. Much of his idea has been realised, much yet remains to fulfil. He died in sight of the promised land towards which he had guided his countrymen so long and so faithfully. Truly, like that of Moses, a mournful and mysterious doom. Far better dismissed with thoughtful silence than by any commonplace of virtue being its own reward, or the like. If we must pass any comment, let it be in the words of our greatest moralist, if not our greatest novelist : ' Justice is like the kingdom of God—it is not without us as a fact, it is within us as a great yearning.'

H. C. IRWIN.

ART. VI.—EDUCATION IN MADRAS.

- 1.—*Reports on Public Instruction in the Madras Presidency for 1870-71.*
- 2.—*Ditto ditto for 1871-72.*

THE two years, of which the above Reports tell the educational history, have seen important changes, almost radical reforms, in the administration of public instruction in Madras. These narratives, therefore, possess more than usual interest, and claim the attention of all those who value education as the most sure if among the slowest of civilising agents. More than a year has elapsed since we examined the scheme of elementary education that was started in Madras under the auspices of Act IV. of 1871. We compared that scheme with existing systems; and estimated the improving power of its proposals by the magnitude of the evils which were to be remedied, and the efficiency and virtue of the remedies it offered. Although we saw promise of real improvement, the onward and upward way looked difficult, and progress could not but be slow.

We now stand with a year's work behind us, and shall do well to read its experience and learn its lessons. And not only for elementary education is this an unusually active and anxious time. Indications are not wanting of a spirit that criticises and questions the utility of our higher education. And if such criticisms are to be successfully answered, and not feebly ignored, a more general knowledge is necessary of what that higher education is and does; as well as a more clear apprehension of what its aims should be.

Information on such subjects should surely be found, if anywhere, in the official yearly review of the work undertaken and done by the Educational Department. Not only the bare facts and figures that tell the fate of particular schools, and the results of examinations, not these only are the fit matter for such reports. A wider range might well be taken into topics that rise immediately out of those dry details, which taken by themselves are almost uninteresting, and can only be made fruitful of meaning by those who understand their import. Of the two styles which we have indicated, and which may be termed the 'dry' and the 'interesting' respectively, the two reports before us are illustrative specimens.

That for 1870-71 contains some seventy pages, of which nearly half are covered by figures, while the remainder give the hard details, and nothing more, of the management of particular schools—

information which might as easily as any other be collected under the definite heads of 'good,' 'bad,' and 'indifferent,' in a tabular form. It is not, however, the space devoted to these details that we grudge. There is no objection to what we find ; but only to the absence of other matter which we ought also to find. The figures are valuable, and there can scarcely be too many of them ; but their value does not lie on the surface, and unless their meaning is elicited and formulated into propositions that describe the existing conditions of education, they remain a mere heap of addition and multiplication sums.

The report of last year's operations is far less open to these criticisms. The year, indeed, was educationally so interesting that its chronicles could scarcely be dry as dust. The starting of a new and complex machine is full of interest, as it is of anxiety, for the managers ; and the large increase in the agency for elementary education was in itself a sufficient theme for a report.

It might surprise us, as a general rule, to learn that the manager of the new machinery, when called upon to record his experience of its working, had called in a stranger ; and left it to one who had watched not at all, or only from a distance, the progress of the work, to chronicle the experience of the workmen. Whatever our surprise may be, here we find, in fact, that the report for 1871-72 is written not by the Director of Public Instruction who appears to have held office throughout the year, but by a pure outsider who happened to be in temporary charge of that office. But let no one hastily suppose that as the arrangement is theoretically absurd, the results are actually disastrous. Colonel Macdonald's report is in many respects admirable. It has the primary virtue of being readable. The dry bones are there ; but they are clothed upon with flesh and sinew, and instead of a grinning skeleton, we have a fair comely body. Not only are the poets laid under contribution to confute Dr. Murdoch's pious prudery ; but some valuable and interesting remarks are offered on such subjects as the general tendency of higher education ; and the working of the new system of elementary education. It is true that we miss something of the full and detailed account of the working of the Local Funds Act, which we should have expected to find in the chronicle of its first year, but it is of course absurd to expect that a narrator, who has only a second hand acquaintance with the year's events, can write their history so fully, and draw from them conclusions so clearly as he could do who has been the chief actor therein throughout the year. We are too grateful to Colonel Macdonald for what he has told us, to complain of what he has withheld.

By the technicalities of the Madras Educational Department schools are classified under three categories as Higher, Middle, and Lower Class Schools. The first class comprises those superior

foundations which are dignified with the name of colleges; provincial schools educating up to the standard of the First Arts Examination of the University; and zillah and other schools which prepare scholars for the Matriculation Examination.

Middle class schools are those miscellaneous foundations, dotted more or less at hap-hazard about the rural districts, which give mixed instruction in English and the Vernacular. They are supported sometimes by local subscriptions, sometimes by salary grants from provincial funds, supplemented by the school fees; sometimes, but more rarely, they have been made Local Fund Schools under the Act of 1871. The quality and scope of their teaching vary even more than the sources of their support, and range from sound practical utility to the very verge of uselessness.

Schools of the lower class provide elementary education only in English and the Vernacular. They are supported almost wholly on the payment by results system; the funds being now supplied from the collections under the Local Funds Act. Though English is provided for in the standard examinations for results, as a general rule there is of course little demand for English in village schools, and it will therefore not be erroneous to treat these as purely vernacular schools.

Having thus laid out the ground before us, we may proceed to examine that portion which stands first in these reports, and which occupies a no less prominent position in public importance and attention.

The higher education of our schools and universities can scarcely be judged by the tests and standards to which lower degrees of instruction are subject. The efficiency of elementary education in any country can be rudely tested by the simple figures of those who can and cannot read and write. If only the figures are complete and accurate, the conclusion admits of little uncertainty. Between the national education of Prussia at one extreme and of Ashantee at the other, the relative positions of all communities can be fixed with sufficient accuracy. But as the amount of instruction increases, and its quality improves, the calculation becomes more complicated; until a point is reached where no standard of accurate valuation exists, or can readily be applied. Thus, in India, we may be able to state with sufficient accuracy the number of rustics who learn to read and write. But in estimating the results of higher education, there is no such positive standard. It is not only to count the number of students, who pass the examination that admits to the University, or that which practically completes the University course; this mere enumeration teaches little. Rather these examinations are only the means to an end—preliminary tests for admission to a contest, and not the contest itself. The school and university are only the

armouries in which the combatants equip themselves for a battle which lies beyond the gates ; and which only begins when school and university are left behind. How then can we estimate the scholars' success, unless we watch their career ? How say whether they have been well fitted for the business of life, unless we know how they acquit themselves of its duties, and win or lose its prizes. Difficulties no doubt present themselves when the attempt is made to trace the effects of higher education on society. There would be a danger of a few conspicuous cases of success overshadowing the mass of mediocrity. But unless the career of University men is watched, and from time to time chronicled in these reports, how can a true and sufficient answer be given to the popular criticisms that float through society, and grow as they float into admitted facts ? In no other way, for instance, can the vulgar estimate of University men be confuted, which hesitates not to define a B.A. of an Indian University as a half-taught, pompous, and conceited young man, who has learned a little of everything and nothing well. We only mention this vulgar opinion to condemn it. It is neither probable in theory, nor true in fact. Founded on the prejudice that resents the claim of natives to an equality in culture with the dominant race ; it is supported by a neglect of intercourse with the class which it censures, and by an ignorance of the work which the members of that class produce. If we would honestly estimate the difference between a scholar of the old school and a scholar of the new ; the comparison must not be instituted between an exceptionally courteous and refined old gentleman, and an exceptionally bumptious member of the Madras University—as the test is now applied,—but the two *régimes* must be compared in the gross ; and a fair estimate formed of the comparative results of the two systems as they appear in public life. And as Government employment is still the goal of the mass of educated young men in India, while twenty years ago it would have been difficult to find a scholar outside the official ranks, the proper object for this comparison is still the crowd of public officials. If the best of the young officials are not more capable and useful men than the best of the last generation ; if the rank and file, when drawn from the educated class, are not more trustworthy and profitable than their uneducated predecessors ; if in short the whole tone and matter, as well as the form and manner of official work are not being raised and refined by the exchange of knowledge for ignorance ; then, indeed, is our teaching vain ; and our faith in education vain also. What the answer of unprejudiced men must be, we entertain no doubt whatever. We look upon those *laudatores temporis acti* (who find a sphere and a theme even in India, where hardly anything that is old is valuable), as the incarnation of Philistinism ; that wraps itself round

with a cloak of self-sufficiency, and acts on the theory that whatever is, is right. The true way to dispel this ignorance, and the only trusty weapon with which to slay this prejudice, is the constant insisting upon the good results of higher education, and the reiteration of the facts which prove its value. And, therefore, until the champion of this cause, whom we take to be the Director of Public Instruction, shows his strength by showing the practical success of his scholars, he will fail to plead his cause with power. And when we say that he is in a manner bound to hold this attitude of champion, we look above and beyond the immediate aim of a report, to the real meaning of this yearly chronicle of education. The Educational Report for a whole Presidency is not, or rather ought not to be, a mere statement of debit and credit between two departments of Government, not the dry explanation of how certain sums of money were expended, and certain officials employed. Rather is it a leaf in national history, a record of the struggle of thirty millions of men up towards light and knowledge. And unless such a narrative looks before and after; showing at every turn an appreciation of the aims to be reached; and a knowledge of the evils to be shunned, it excites a feeling that the writer has failed to conceive the importance of the work he is doing; and has missed the spirit in which alone it can be done.

We hold it then to be incontrovertible that the education which the University encourages is already bearing good fruit in public life, and that this success is only disparaged because its proper champions neglect to prove it. It is not, however, so clear that the present phase of university education is the most admirable, and that the latest type of university man is superior to its predecessors. And if it is true that the Proficient of the Madras University carried into official or private life a more complete culture, and built his acquired knowledge into a more finished structure than the mass of recent graduates attain to, it is well to note the fact, and, if we can, to understand its causes. Foremost among these doubtless stands the advantage the early pupils of the University teachers enjoyed in the monopoly among a few of that teaching; and the closer contact that was possible between the masters and the students. The small knot of pupils that then sat at their professors' feet imbibed as much indirectly from familiar intercourse as directly from special instruction; and if numbers have now diminished to each student the individual advantage that their predecessors enjoyed, the loss cannot but make itself felt and seen in the characters and culture of the younger graduates.

Those only who have marked the affectionate reverence with which university graduates cherish the name of their best teachers, can understand the value that the best of them attach to the education they receive. The goodwill that some men

earn in other fields of official life in India by integrity and kindness, is but blank indifference when compared with the gratitude of a Hindu pupil to his master. The clever politician whose influence is felt in relieving a province from misrule ; or the upright judge whose justice makes the law at once a terror and a guardian ; these may leave a vague memory of good behind them. But the labours of the devoted teacher live in the memories of hundreds of scholars, and excite a sense of deep personal obligation that can never be discharged. There is much of discouragement and much ill-requited labour undergone by those who are helping the Hindus to become a new nation. But from the best of their pupils they rarely fail to receive an affectionate homage that must have all the sweetness of well-earned reward.

The increase of work and the widening of the sphere of higher education can well be understood from the comparative results over a period of fourteen years. If the University of Madras produced only two graduates in 1858, while no less than seventy-two B. A.'s graduated in 1872, the growth of higher education must bear some proportion to the difference between these figures, not only in Madras itself, but throughout Southern India. Nor is it to be deeply regretted if, in increasing the quantity of her scholars, the Madras University has seen some falling off in the quality of their scholarship. A mere handful of students highly trained in intelligence might be more fruitful in conspicuous results, but not more valuable to a nation, than a far larger supply of less rare and costly intellects. We have not to stock a green-house with exotics, but to plant a desert with useful trees ; and if there be less of showy foliage and gorgeous blossom in our plantation, we may be well content with sturdy growth and homely but useful plainness. There are those indeed who assert that the scholarship of Indian Universities has seen its best days, and is already on the decline ; as native professors of English literature supply the place of men trained in British Universities ; and English is taught as a foreign language, by masters whose accents are peculiar and whose idiom is incorrect. Time must show how far this charge is true.

One defect, however, that taints the present phase of higher education, is so commonly noticed that the absence of any allusion to it from these reports must have been deliberate. We allude to the subject of the controversy that has been long waged, and appears to be of late growing into greater importance, as to the prescription of special text-books for the University Examinations—whether it is well to direct the student's mind to the assimilation of a particular book, or to leave him free to gather from whatever sources he or his teachers can lay under contribution the knowledge of letters or science.

This subject is one on which dogmatism is absurd ; but which

it is mere weakness to ignore. Although we doubt whether the time has come for sweeping changes in the existing system, there appear to be strong grounds for a belief that the almost exclusive adherence to the practice now in vogue, of selecting extracts from literature and bits of a subject for the students' examinations, tends to confine their reading within very narrow limits ; to teach them a little of many things, without giving them a thorough knowledge of any. The principles upon which such a controversy must be conducted are clear enough ; as is the fact that what is true of one part of the field will not be true of another. As different departments of knowledge have attained very various degrees of completeness, the principles that must govern instruction in one subject will not apply to the teaching of another. This difference consists in the higher or lower degree in which each division of knowledge has attained positivity ; and in which the laws that govern each department of science have been rendered demonstrable. In applying this principle to the subject of education, we find that between the study of mathematics, which has attained the highest degree of positivity, and that of literature or the statics of language, there exist such differences that it would be absurd to treat them as equal.

Grammar, or the laws of language ; history, or the statics of social science ; and geography, which properly treated is only part of the same field, these all differ in the degree in which they have as yet become sciences. They range so widely, and are so little systematised, that undirected efforts to acquire a knowledge of them might be dissipated so wildly as to produce results incapable of valuation. That is the danger to be dreaded. But on the other hand the present system is not without real evils : and it is time that those who are responsible for the conduct of higher education should face these difficulties and, if they can, remove them.

There are so few in India whom special attention to and knowledge of educational subjects render competent to express an opinion on these matters, that the ruling few have it all their own way. Public opinion cannot be said to exist at all ; and thus the position of those who are officially interested in maintaining the *status quo* becomes impregnable. In no efficiently managed institution, for instance, would it have been possible that the charge of persistent and almost deliberate obscenity, which has after frequent iterations been admitted, should go unregarded. If Dr. Murdoch had not marred the vigorous advocacy of a good cause by offensive personalities, he would have won the thanks of many who resent the official support of all that is filthy in Hindu literature.

It is unnecessary to discuss the strange farrago of impossible proposals that Dr. Murdoch put forth as educational reforms.

Probably, by this time his regret at its publication is as deep and sincere as our own. But for the mere protest against obscenity Dr. Murdoch deserves nothing but gratitude; while we cannot suppress the rising doubt whether the University authorities rightly interpret their duties and realise their responsibilities, when we find them prescribing books which they cannot only never have read (that is not to be expected), but which no competent adviser can have recommended. It is by scandals of this kind that occasion is given to those light and airy critics who for a single defect in detail condemn a whole system. And though such criticism may be worthless, the errors which it exaggerates are as real as they are unnecessary. The governing body of the Madras University is probably as well selected and efficiently constituted as the scanty materials of a small colonial society permit. If their energy in improving higher education, and their care in administering it have hitherto seemed to fail, the weakness arises from defect of will and not of power.

Attached to the University of Madras by ties stronger in theory than in fact are the scientific and technical colleges and schools of Art, Medicine and Civil Engineering. Of the first it is difficult to speak in terms of respect. Residents of Madras have habituated themselves to the necessity of surrounding their house-doors and decking their garden walks with specimens of the rude and ungraceful pottery that the School of Arts supplies; and a certain number of indifferent photographers and artists who are destined to starve by art issue from this school, and court in vain an unappreciating public. But of solid results there are none; and not only are they absent, but they are not in course of development. An Indian School of Arts must, we conceive, have one of two aims. Either its purpose will be to revive the indigenous arts of India, that have either wholly vanished or are even now falling into decay. This is a real and intelligible object; although, probably, a hopeless struggle. Or again the school may be a nursery of native craftsmen trained in European arts and industries—a technic school or college that is, the humbler sister of the schools of pure learning; to which might be attracted those classes who have to live by manual labour, and who might learn from systematic training to exchange the ingenuity and completeness of the Western artisan for the rude and ineffective methods of the Indian craftsman. The School of Arts in Madras is neither of these. It is a weak and sickly institution, supported neither by public repute nor by official patronage. It absorbs so much money as to be expensive; while it is refused the ways and means that can alone make it efficient. The devotion of the whole time and energy of an unusually zealous and enthusiastic principal has hitherto

failed to make it anything but a conspicuous sham. To say that this is a natural and necessary result of the culture of art in India, is to maintain what appears to us to be a paradox. The arts are so intimately connected with human needs and wishes, that the gain of artistic teaching must be felt by every member of a civilised society, and to say that it is useless to train men in technic skill is to say that ignorance is better than knowledge.

If, then, the present failure of technic education in India is as unnecessary as it is complete, it is sheer indolence to be content with such a condition. Nor are models wanting which we may imitate, nor material on which we may work. What is true of the School of Arts is in a less degree true of the Civil Engineering College. Partly, no doubt, the want of success that attends this institution may be attributed to the coldness of official patronage; since in India the public works that employ engineering knowledge and skill originate only in Government enterprise; and if those trained in this knowledge fail to find employment under Government, no second market is open to them. Thus the time and labour of a young engineer may have been wholly thrown away at the completion of his college course, if he is refused admission into a service that is already overstocked in its lower grades with sergeants and corporals, who prefer the rewards, direct and indirect, of the Department of Public Works, to the uneventful indolence of a barrack. Whether the physically vigorous and strong soldier is a better overseer of public works than the weaker but more intelligent native is a question that admits of argument.

It is, however, obvious that men will not spend the best years of their life in acquiring knowledge for which there is no demand; and unless the Government deliberately prefers the English soldier to the educated native for the lower grades of the Department of Public Works, wider opening ought to be made for the native students of the Civil Engineering College. When the Director of Public Instruction gravely asserts that the guarantee of one appointment yearly to the post of Assistant Engineer for students of the college has contributed to a marked improvement in their number, it becomes evident that they have hitherto had to be thankful for very small mercies indeed.

The Medical College attracts the best and steadiest of young East Indians, and offers them, at the end of their course, a certainty of respectable, if not of excellent employment. Its lectures are therefore fairly attended, although recent years have seen no extension of the sphere of its operations.

There are in these institutions about one hundred students of medicine, eighty or ninety young engineers, and perhaps an equal number of scholars in the School of Arts. Each of these is a separate educational unit which receives no assistance from the other;

nor are any of them directly assisted by the Presidency College. In this, we conceive, lies the weakness of the whole system. A properly organised scheme of technical education would make these separate colleges mere branches of the Central College or University. The present Provincial college is now being undersold, especially in the junior department, by the many private establishments that compete with it in Madras. But it is probable that the disadvantages of expensiveness and of inconvenient situation could be fully counterbalanced by superiority of organisation in its higher departments. If the college became a technical college as well as a literary; if its pupils were drafted from the higher classes directly into the College of Arts, Medicine or Engineering as their powers and predilections led them; while the students of the literary college pursued at the same time the special subjects that their future professions require, law, moral science, or mathematics; not only would there be a great saving of power in the centralization of several now separate agencies; but the colleges that now suffer so severely by being left to make their own way, and find their own pupils, would gather strength and activity from contact with the Provincial school.

It is difficult within our limits to put these possibilities clearly; but those who have learned some thing of the French system of literary and technical education, or of the German *Real-Schule*, will understand the point on which we would insist; that the separation of these various centres of education is a mistake fatal to the success of nearly all of them. Thus the students of all branch colleges, engineers, lawyers or artists might learn some subjects side by side, while in purely technic instruction the lectures would be given almost solely to the students of that special subject, whatever it might be. This plan depends for success on nothing so much as upon careful organisation and arrangement of details; of which, one, of course, would be the localisation of all these colleges in one neighbourhood, if not in one building.

But that such a centralisation of the agencies of education would effect an enormous increase of results as well as great saving of labour, will scarcely be doubted by those who study the management of technic and literary education on the continent of Europe. Such wonderful institutions as the University of Zurich could never exist, if their separate departments had the isolated and mutually repellent character of these Madras colleges. A single college with a single head must displace the many headed system of colleges, before the success that we long to see can attend higher education in Madras.

It may appear chimerical to say that the science of agriculture will find its proper place among the studies of this reformed university. But if the time has come for scientific agriculture in

India—and that this is the opinion of Government is proved by the establishment of model farms—it cannot be too early to offer instruction in that science. Certainly, we are at a loss to conceive what success can attend the present plan, of giving high salaries, Rs. 40, to young men of fair education and position, who must, if they are to earn their pay, do work which is repulsive to their natural taste, and which has not been made intelligible to them by previous training. It is conceivable that the pupils of a professor of Agriculture might fit themselves for the superintendence of a farm, but it is quite inconceivable that young and untrained Bráhmans can add anything to a ryot's practice of agriculture.

Before quitting the subject of higher education we must notice the most recent phase of its development, in the special measures that are being taken to attract Musalmáns towards a higher type of education. Whether the previous experiences of Lord Hobart have inspired him with a special regard for the Musalmán, or whether he views this movement as a statesmanlike effort to make education and its rewards free and equal to all classes, matters little. The movement has, of course, its ludicrous side, when its first fruits appear in agitations for increased pensions to Begums, and in a general anticipation that Musalmáns are to sit in high places, and oust therefrom the too intelligent and competitively-examinable Hindu. But apart from these extravagances, there may well be in many men's minds a feeling that Musalmáns have not hitherto been fairly treated, and that now, for the first time, the weights are to be taken off them which have destroyed their chance in the race of life. Such a feeling, we believe, exists; and the mere removal of the causes from which it seemed to spring, the bare declaration that the field is open to all comers, will doubtless do good. But that substantial results will proceed from this philo-Moslem movement appears to be so doubtful that it may be well to examine some of the bearings of this question.

There is no little truth in the maxim that "you cannot make people good, or clean, or clever, or any thing else, by Act of Parliament." This is a bold and naked statement of the principle that legislation must follow and not precede public opinion, that law does not form but is formed by custom. If, then, this plan of educating Musalmáns meets a public want: if it is destined to supply a commodity for which there is an effective demand; its success is as certain as its origination is laudable. If on the other hand those whom it is proposed to make scholars refuse to submit to the process, the project must die in its inception; and the ship founder before she leaves her moorings. The movement originates in the not unnatural surprise which a new comer to India feels at the fact that the Musalmáns, who a short century ago were masters of the situation, lords paramount of

the whole of India, are now not only in a position of painful inferiority, but in Madras hold no public position whatever. Impressed with this strange and sudden decay of a whole race, the foreigner looks about him for the causes. He notices the intellectual acuteness and the untiring industry of the Hindu; he compares these qualities with the less strenuous and less practical disposition of the Musalmán; and finds in the contrast a type and an explanation of the rise of one race and the fall of the other.

Forgetting for the most part the cause that lies deeper—the inevitable degeneration of a northern race of conquerors; centuries of residence in a tropical climate; habits of indolence, that not only the climate but political supremacy also has provoked; and the corruption of a physically superior race, by miscegenation with the lower indigenous races of India—forgetting these fundamental causes of decay, the stranger contents himself with those obvious conditions that readily present themselves.

Thus the bare fact that in the higher ranks of the public service a mere fraction of Musalmáns held office, at once suggested the conclusion that it must be the fault of those who made the rules of admission to the service, and who administered the education that prepares young men for public life. It was easier to suppose that a general conspiracy for the exclusion of Musalmáns from office had worked this result, than to believe that a whole nationality deliberately and of set purpose refused to compete for success. That this was not the case; that on the contrary a real prejudice is felt by many Englishmen in favour of the Musalmán; and that an educated and trustworthy Muhammadan found no difficulty in making his way in the public service; these things are so notorious that we regret that the meritorious effort to improve the education of Musalmáns has been mixed up with matters not essential to it. If Musalmáns have hitherto been absent from our schools, and if they have failed to rise in the public service, their absence, and their failure are wholly of their own doing. They would have come to school, if they had desired the education that was offered them; and they would have risen in the grades of office, if they had been at the pains to fit themselves for preferment. And even now we hardly venture to expect that these conditions will be changed. The mere exchange of Arabic for Sanskrit, and of Hindustáni for Tamil and Telugu, will not fill the schools with crowds of eager scholars. For that was not really the barrier that kept the crowd outside. Rather was it the base and brutal prejudice of race; sharpened in this case by the consciousness of intellectual inferiority. The Musalmán hates the Hindu, and all the more keenly because his rival's brains are better. The same feeling that prevents the Indian Civil Service being thrown open by examinations in this

country—the refusal of equality with the dominant to the subject race—hinders the Musalmán from competing on terms of equality with the Hindu. And to this is added in each case the unfortunate circumstance that the physically stronger is not also intellectually the more acute race. If we felt sure that the British boy would head competitive lists to the exclusion of Ayangar and Mudali, we should throw open the examination to-morrow. Can we not then understand the Musalmán, even if we cannot encourage him, when he refuses to compete with his too clever rival?

It is unfortunate that good undertakings are started on false principles; because those who take exception to the reasons seem to object to the purpose, and in advocating other methods to pursue different ends. Nothing can be more desirable than to raise Musalmáns to a higher intellectual level. It is, however, at the very outset necessary to understand that their position has not been forced upon them from without. They took it up of their own free choice, and refused to move from it of set purpose. If, therefore, they are now to advance, the movement must begin from within; their own desire must urge them forward, and not the coaxing and enticements of patrons however powerful. If such a spirit of progress is now abroad among Musalmáns, no trifles of impediment will keep them back; if not—but we need not prophesy. In taking leave of this deeply interesting subject of higher education, a parting word of apology will not be out of place. Wherever a weak point has lain open, we have tried to probe it; to lay a finger on the sore, and to try to suggest a cure. In bearing witness to the real value of higher education in India, we have, we trust, guarded against the possibility of being charged with captiousness of criticism: and need not therefore to enlarge on what is good in the work of Madras colleges. Their greatest merit is, perhaps, the sober air of honesty and industry that pervades them, nothing of sham or pretence is added to gild the brazen image. We have heard of Indian colleges, whose histories are told in voluminous reports, and whose fame is blown on far-echoing trumpets, but their class rooms are empty, and their professors scarcely more numerous than their students; while the Provinces that they adorn care nothing for and learn nothing of the culture that the colleges are intended to shed around. It is not so in Madras. The writing of reports not having been included in the arts of Government, more count is taken of what is done, than of what is said in educational as in other matters. But that a lasting and valuable work is being done in filling the higher ranks both of public and private life with more intelligent and cultured minds, is a fact that will become more apparent every day.

Turn we now to the second story of the Educational building—to

the schools of the middle class ; and the instruction they offer ; and the results which they produce.

There is a deceptive appearance of simplicity about this branch of educational work, that it requires some experience to pierce. For the fact is that middle class education offers problems in some respects more difficult of solution than those offered by its elder sister, Higher Education. The first difficulty relates naturally to the subjects and amount of instruction to be offered by schools of this class. The aim set before a good high class school is obvious. To make the education of youths as complete as the best masters available, and long years of study, render possible. To prepare men for the higher grades of the public service ; and in short to make the young generation as wise as, if not wiser than the old. But to a middle class school these aims would be visionary ; and so it often happens that these schools have no aim at all.

There are in the Madras Presidency 500 schools giving various quantities and qualities of English education ; all classed together as middle class schools. They vary not merely from good to bad ; but to be precise, from a standard very little below the average of zillah schools to a condition in which the master's knowledge of English might fitly be represented by X—an unknown quantity. Dotted at haphazard among the small country towns and more populous villages of rural districts, these schools draw their pupils from the families of the well-to-do, and of the office-holding classes. In theory no doubt the Anglo-vernacular and Taluk schools act as feeders to the Zilla or Provincial schools that exist in the central station of each district. Educational officers are fain to picture to themselves a ceaseless stream of young aspirants passing from village school to Taluk school, and from thence to the Zilla school, or at one leap to the Presidency College. If this was so ; if the instruction of the middle class school really prepared its students for the next step on the ladder of learning, their usefulness would be complete and obvious. But figures, that try all theories, will not suffer us to hold this belief ; for if each Anglo-vernacular and Taluk school sent on even a half of its highest class half-yearly, or even yearly, to the higher school, the numbers of the 4th, 5th and 6th classes of the latter school would be swollen out of all recognition. The fact is that only the two or three favoured boys whose exceptional cleverness assures them success, or whose easy circumstances relieve them from the fear of expense, ever hope to rise above the standard of knowledge to which the middle class school raises them. And if they stop at this middle standard ; if they acquire the smattering of English that a Taluk schoolmaster can give his scholars ; if they assimilate a few crude and ill-digested facts from the history of their

country ; how can they promise to themselves an opportunity of turning this knowledge to account ? They learn either too little or too much, too little to be scholars and too much to be clowns. Enough to make them dissatisfied with the life their fathers led ; but not enough to carry them above it, to win life's richer rewards. And this difficulty is not disposed of by the recognition of the fact that there must always be degrees of knowledge ; that the dunces will always lag behind. Every degree of knowledge is no doubt in itself valuable as an exercise for the mind that has received it. Schools of all kinds have their value, and their proper place in the general scheme of education. It is to the nature and amount of the education that these middle schools supply that we draw attention. An English boy, who leaves the fourth class of an English grammar school, is probably as ill-taught and ignorant a youth, considering the time, trouble, and money that have been spent on him, as society can develope. But he finds his place in the working world ; and is able, in whatever line of life he starts, to find use at once for the small stock of knowledge that his brains supply. But an Indian middle class school teaches almost nothing that unimproved can be useful to a grown man. To stammer through a reading book is valuable as the first step to a knowledge of English literature ; and to work correctly long division sums is the first weapon in the armoury of the mathematician—but what if the English books are never seen after the school is quitted, and what if the long division is in commercial practice useless, and has to be thrown aside for other conventional methods, when the school-boy enters his father's shop ? Is it so sure that English education is for its own sake valuable ; or is its value confined to circumstances in which it becomes a marketable commodity ? Let it not be supposed that we would expunge English from the middle schools. There is an effective demand for it in these schools to a certain extent, and for particular scholars. The point which we urge is that these schools now supply this English education and nothing else, to all scholars alike whether they require it or not. The main consequence of this defect is that our middle class schools fail to attract the mass of the town-population. The commercial classes find little in our education that is practically useful ; and they care little for what it offers of ornament. They therefore seek elsewhere for the knowledge they need for their children ; and which our middle class schoolmasters not only cannot offer, but affect to despise. If it were not for the class that aspires to public office, which can only be reached by the passwords of English education, our middle schools would be empty. And since for every successful candidate twenty fail to win a prize, and fall back upon common service among the rank and file of the working world, it is not too much to say that the time and money

of these twenty are little better than wasted. Nothing appears to us so surprising as the complacency with which educational men regard this system. The indifferent quality and the inutility of this middle class education must be apparent to every one of them; yet hardly a word of doubt or hesitation rises to break the silence of satisfaction in which they live.

The probable cause of much that is weak and sickly in this branch of the Educational system, is the dissipation of strength among too many separate schools. That which secures the success of Zilla and Provincial schools is the restriction of their number within such limits as prevent the possibility of competition between them. The same precaution should be used with schools of the middle class. If private enterprise embarks in the foundation of such a school, no obstacle need be placed in its path. But if a given extent of country can only support one school of the higher class, there can be no sound reason for the indiscriminate establishment of middle class schools here there and everywhere as inexperience suggests and as indifference allows.

To suffer an active and damaging competition to arise between a private school and one founded by Government and supported by public money, is to throw deliberately away all the strength that comes from the organisation of a Department of Education. There is an appearance of hardship in the prohibition of private foundations without State permission and except under official supervision, which offends the Anglo-Saxon instinct. Probably, however, there is a truer wisdom in the exercise by the State, in the person of a Minister of Education, of a paternal control over all the agencies of instruction than in the management of education on the principles of Free trade. What thinking man in England would hesitate, if it were now possible, to exchange the orderly organisation of Germany, for the license and chaos of England in educational matters. In India, however, where everything is to be created, less waste of power will result from the absence of restriction on the foundation of schools, than we should gain by the control of private establishments. The soft-heartedness which even encourages by salary grants the competition of a private school with a Government foundation, in a locality unequal to the support of two establishments, is certainly to be deprecated. But very few are disposed to invest their capital or labour in the educational field; and far more waste occurs by the official establishment of a multitude of poor middle class schools than in the scanty grants which private teachers draw from the public funds. Another evil which results from this indiscriminate foundation of middle class schools is that every small town or considerable village thinks itself slighted and neglected to the gain of more favoured neighbours, if an Anglo-vernacular school is not

established within its limits. Nor is it possible now to make such small centres of population self-supplying as to middle class education. The excellent principle having been laid down that local taxation is to be imposed for the support of elementary education only; the future of middle class education is darkened by this provision. For it is certain that no town which pays house-tax for elementary schools, will be free with its money in support of a middle class education. Nothing hardens the heart, and tightens the pursestrings so powerfully as a compulsory contribution. The exasperation of an English gentleman who having paid his 'ship-money,' was called upon to contribute a 'benevolence,' would fairly represent the feelings of the Hindu shop-keeper, who, having been assessed under the house-tax, is asked to put his name down for something handsome towards an English school.

There is no want, however, of more schools of the middle class. It would be far better if the numbers were lessened and their quality improved. There are a multitude of schools which from the date of their foundation to the present time, have never produced a single decent English scholar, and have never given the least return for all the money spent upon them. They have not fed the distant Zilla school with well-grounded pupils; they have not carried their students over the first barrier to public life, the General Test examination; they have won no place in local esteem, and meet none of the requirements of the local community.

To strengthen and improve middle class education is, we believe, a task that will try all the knowledge and ingenuity of the Educational Department. The first necessity is that the want should be felt and the weakness recognized to a degree of which there is hardly any sign at present. We have barely touched upon and will not now further pursue one most important side of this question. The financial difficulties that surround the present and future of these middle class schools are most serious. Every day the existence of some long-established and successful no less than of other feeble schools is becoming more precarious. Funds collected long ago are being rapidly spent; while the clouds no longer rain down manna; and suicide threatens soon to be the only escape from a lingering death by starvation. Perhaps it is our want of knowledge that prevents us from discovering any remedy for this disease. If there is one available, it should be speedily applied. But if there is none, we look forward without regret to the consummation by this violent means of the desirable end. Some middle class schools will die; the whole number will be reduced; and we hope the quality of the survivors will be improved by the change. As each rural district can support only one school of the

higher class; there is no sound reason for the indiscriminate multiplication of schools of the middle class. The same principle applies to both cases.

We have hardly allowed ourselves space for the complete discussion of the third division of educational work. Elementary education holds a high place in national importance; and ought to be, if it is not, one of the first objects of Government.

That this has only lately begun to be true in Madras; that only the last two years have seen an active and systematic effort to improve elementary education, is more to the credit of those who saw the want and tried to supply it, than to the blame of a former generation who failed to discern the need. For even now the ground won is scarcely firm under our feet. Even the warmest advocates and most unhesitating supporters of a system of national education feel doubtful not of the right, but of the strength of their cause. The dread of a "reaction" from the present policy of advance in elementary education, that has found expression in the mouth of the most distinguished supporter of that policy, proves the reality of the danger. Reformers are too apt to overlook, but never to exaggerate the obstacles in their path. And if Mr. Arbuthnot feels bound to protest against a reaction, we may be sure that there are those who have the power and the will to react. That a policy of retrogression in education should still be possible; that there are still men who avow an antipathy to the spread of elementary knowledge, is only surprising to those who forget that in India no principles ever become recognized beyond dispute, and no policy approved above cavil. Just as it is still possible to hear officials in high places argue gravely in favour of a permanent settlement of the land revenue; so is it necessary to plead in favour of elementary education. Neither the experience nor the controversy of three-fourths of a century have sufficed to settle the first question. And as for the second, the unanimous voice of civilised Europe falls on deaf ears in India, when it urges that the time for darkness is past; and that now the light of education must everywhere be kindled. The axiom of the West is but a theory in the East. On educational questions Anglo-Indian opinion rises little above the level of the Somersetshire farmer or the Kentish boor. Much of this prejudice is of course directly due to the policy which proposes to treat India consistently and in all matters of government as a conquered country, to be held only by the strong arm. But even those who take a higher view; and revolt from the proposal to keep 180 millions of men in ignorance in order that cotton may be cheap in Manchester; even these find much to offend them in the recent course of educational progress in Madras, they think we have been going too fast; that the whip should be laid aside, and the

rein tightened ; lest the pace become furious and the team uncontrollable. To treat these objections, or rather these hesitations with light disregard, would be to maintain the ideal perfection of recent legislation ; and to deny the possibility of improvement in the present administration of elementary education. One thing only we would stipulate. In criticising the methods, let us never doubt about the aim of our policy. To waver in our allegiance to the cause of education is to prefer darkness to light ; and to range ourselves deliberately on the side of those who work, if they do not wish, ill for India.

Granted the axiom that elementary education is to be spread throughout all classes, we concede all liberty in the discussion of the ways and means. If all agree to work and walk towards the same goal, each may learn something from the other in the management of his journey thither.

Two main considerations have, we believe, prompted the reactionary feeling, which is undoubtedly afoot. One is the natural suspicion that attaches in India to any proceeding that savours of haste. This is the land of lotus-eaters ; and dreamful ease is the ideal of existence. The second cause of apprehension arises out of the introduction or revival—it matters not which—of the special form of direct taxation, the house-tax, by which elementary education is to be supported.

The first objection is of course one which can most effectually be met by practical proof of its groundlessness. When the objectors find that there is in fact no haste, nor unseemly pressure in developing elementary education, their opposition will cease.

And though we do not deny that in the first starting of the Local Funds Act some occasion was given to fear excessive haste ; the apprehension appears to have long lost all sufficient ground. It was natural that the first burst into what seemed a new country should be eager and excited. The terms in which the promoters spoke and wrote of the new policy were doubtless at times exaggerated. Everything was to be done with a mathematical precision, and a supernatural celerity that appalled sober Indian officials, who had never quickened their pace before out of a steady walk. The scheme too worked out so prettily on paper. Given a hundred square miles of unenlightened country. It was possible not only to calculate precisely how many schools were to be founded at the given distance from each other ; but the precise figure which each householder must contribute to the support of each school was as clear as x and y . And so Assistant Collectors went to work in all their youthful enthusiasm ; with a faith like that of Abbé Sièyes in his constitutions : like a Pope in the Vatican distributing kingdoms in the New World to the Most Christian King, or the Eldest Son of the Church.

At last these schemes of mathematical precision were completed, and passed on to the critical department ; but, strange to say, they have never reappeared ; and so complete has been their sterility that even their authors have ceased to believe in them. Thus the reaction came ; and having come, it promises to be for a time as exaggerated as was the fever fit of activity. But the excess of caution will doubtless correct itself just as the excess of haste has been corrected, and no more powerful remedy can be applied than a clear statement of the character and quantity of the work which is contemplated and undertaken in spreading elementary education. If those who dread haste discover that the progress is really slow ; and if the opponents of organic change learn that the development of the old is intended, rather than the introduction of the new, both classes of opponents will lose the basis and with it the desire of opposition.

It is strange that the highest authorities in educational matters should not have discerned this danger to the cause of elementary education ; or that having discerned, they should not have attempted to avert it. In fact the form which they give to their account of elementary education is directly calculated to excite opposition in those who apprehend excess of activity. The educational report for 1870-71 opens with the following flourish of trumpets. " The increase in the number of schools and scholars is unprecedented. There are 922 more schools than there were last year, and 19,980 more scholars." This represents an increase of more than 20 per cent in the total number of schools ; and of about 14 per cent in that of the scholars. And when it appears from the next paragraph of this report that " almost the whole of this increase arises from the spread of elementary education,"—what impression can possibly be conveyed to any reader than that the schoolmaster is abroad with a vengeance ; and that the country has been flooded in one year with nearly a thousand more elementary teachers than it supported last year. There is no doubt that this is the impression under which readers without special knowledge rise from the reading of these reports. And yet the impression is altogether delusive. For these schools, so far from being new foundations, stand where schools of precisely the same class and character have stood ever since the races of Southern India passed into the intellectual condition in which we find them. While we number the years of the life of our English universities in India, these schools may probably count their centuries. How then does the Department of Education treat these schools as new foundations ? Simply by a species of egoism that makes the Department the centre of educational existence ; the hub of the whole world of schools.

Just as if a novice in astronomy should count every new star

of which he became conscious as a new creation ; should mistake the moment that it swims into his ken, for the first moment of the orb's existence ; so these educational authorities note down every school of whose existence they are made aware, as a new school, without an existence or a history before they found it. It is of course impossible to state precisely how many of these schools are really new ; that is, how many owe their existence to the actual support of the Educational Department, and not to the constant and unceasing demand for primary instruction that has existed for centuries in the rural districts of Southern India. Nor is the exact appreciation of the numbers particularly important ; if the broad fact be born in mind ; that a 'new school' in Educational parlance does not imply a school of modern foundation, but merely a school of whose existence the Educational Department became aware for the first time during last year. It is of course true that the existence of these schools is precarious. The local supply of scholars changes with the changing year ; and the village schoolmaster flits uneasily from place to place as his necessities drive and his interests lead him. It is, however, broadly true that while in every town or large village there will be several elementary schools always open, whether the Educational Department smiles or frowns, slumbers or wakes ; in the smaller villages the supply of elementary education is also pretty constant, not in the exact position, but in the average number of elementary schools.

All that the Educational Department does or can do is not to create, but to encourage by rewards and to improve by supervision ; and those who have watched the working of this branch of educational enterprise know best how strong is the jealousy of interference, and the independence of official control that the village schoolmaster opposes to well-intentioned efforts to improve elementary education.

It follows that, if this explanation of the existing state of things is accurate, the apprehension of excessive haste, which deters some men from approval of the reorganisation of the educational system, is groundless. The promoters of the Local Funds Act did something to occasion this alarm ; the educational officers have done more by the inaccuracy of the description of the work they are doing. So far from the country being covered with new schools ; so far from the mass of the people being educated against their will ; very little change or progress has taken place in elementary education. The only increase has been in the number of inspecting officers ; and time must be given to allow any appreciable result of their work to make itself apparent.

With the other cause of apprehension to the opponents of the Local Fund system we cannot as yet deal effectually. Exceptions are taken to the measure on purely sentimental grounds ; the

unpopularity of a house-tax ; and the unwisdom of forcing education upon people who resent it.

Sentiment indeed is in matters of taxation real and substantial ; and sentimental objections are by no means lightly to be disregarded. But it is idle to attempt to argue men into a love of taxation. The only thing to be done is to ask them to wait until they have tried the tax. If it is then felt to be burdensome in the faintest degree by any class ; if its results are not recognised to be beneficial out of all comparison with the severity of the burden to be borne ; then will be the time for the objectors to triumph : and for less offensive sources of income to be opened. Meanwhile the expenditure of declamation against oppressive taxation is mere sound and fury, signifying nothing.

Perhaps the most disappointing feature of the latest educational report is the scantiness of the information as to the working of the new system. It is of primary importance to know how the influence of Local Fund Boards has made itself felt in educational matters. Whether strength or weakness has resulted from this introduction of a new and unofficial element into the administration. What few indications are apparent of the relations that exist between the Boards and the Director of Public Instruction are not very encouraging. Indications are not wanting of unruly dispositions in these young and inexperienced bodies, who desire to deal with the educational questions that come before them upon principles based upon their own ideas of the eternal fitness of things ; tempered by what they are pleased to call 'local conditions' ; a system that can only lead eventually to mishaps and general confusion. If, however, the Director finds Local Fund Boards unruly, he has only himself to thank for his embarrassment. The course marked out for him by the Act and rules that embodied the Local Funds' system was expressly designed to secure for him a position of authority and independence.

Just as the Board of Revenue is by that system regarded as the referee and controller of all local schemes and agencies relating to public works ; just as the Sanitary Commissioner for the Presidency is the referee in matters of conservancy and sanitation ; so was the Director of Public Instruction intended to stand between the Local Boards and the Government, which must eventually decide the general principles on which elementary education is to be managed. It is as ridiculous that in matters educational the Local Fund Boards should disregard the highest educational authority in the Presidency, as it would be for them to attempt to take out of the hands of the proper authorities, the Engineers and the Board of Revenue, the management of the public works.

The attempt is absurd ; and the results must be disastrous. But no little opportunity has been given for this assumption of authority by

the Local Boards by the want of strength in the educational officers. They should no more submit to the crotchets and crudities of an untrained and ignorant body in technical matters of education, than they would accept their decision on questions of scholarship. In either case the probabilities are in favour of knowledge; and on no considerations should experience yield to ignorance, however loud-voiced and positive may be its self-assertion.

It is not only on account of the superiority of the experience possessed by educational officers that we urge the necessity of their taking a high and authoritative tone in the control of their work; it is also because we have seen enough already of the action of Local Fund Boards to mistrust their wisdom. Such proposals as that which raised the so-called 'caste difficulty'—a proposal to exclude non-caste boys from the Local Fund schools—a proposal, that is, that the rich shall contribute nothing towards the education of the poor—indicate a spirit of narrow prejudice, and selfishness, which on the plea of 'local conditions' might cripple the power for good of the educational agencies in a whole province. The fact is that in matters of education the Local Fund Boards have mistaken their position altogether. They are merely the local advisers of the Educational Department; and the local supervisors of the subordinate agents of that Department. And it is mere presumption in them to tamper with the general principles on which the work of that department is conducted; and to set up their ignorance in opposition to the knowledge of trained and experienced men. For when they find themselves face to face with the difficult problems that have as yet been barely touched—the establishment of Training schools for primary school-masters, the supply of such masters, and the principles upon which elementary schools are to be supported—when they have to choose whether the system of payment by results or of salaries is suitable to Union schools—in dealing with these and similar questions, if Local Fund Boards are to act upon their ideas of "local conditions;" the management of elementary education will arrive at a condition of chaos and night profound. Self-government is an excellent thing, but not if it means government at hap-hazard, and a system under which a few members of a community, without special knowledge or training, sit down to work out problems of government by their own scanty lights and without aid from those who have special knowledge and experience.

We have indicated and can scarcely do more, the more important questions of the time that affect the future of elementary education. Of these perhaps the most pressing is that depending on the application of the system of payments by results to the support of village schools. There is a logical perfection about the Results system that makes men so enamoured of its excellencies, that they fail wholly to see its defects. The security against

imposture ; the certainty that nothing but good work can win a good reward under this system ; and that no man can succeed in keeping a school, while teaching nothing to his scholars—these advantages make men forget that the iron rigidity of its rules may bruise while it tries ; and that circumstances may exist in which it may repress rather than encourage the spread of elementary education.

Given a flourishing and populous district where there is no lack of schools, because there are plenty of scholars ; and the results system will be an excellent instrument for testing the quality, and for securing the soundness of the elementary education supplied in those schools. But when we change the locality and find ourselves in a thinly populated district, of few and small villages of poor struggling cultivators ; it is by no means clear that our educational management can safely be based on the same principles of inflexible rigour. The results system might have the effect of starving more than it feeds. It is enough for us to indicate the possibility of this, without positively asserting it. Special knowledge and experience must decide such a question ; and local knowledge will not of course be without its value. For while we deprecate the spirit in which some Local Fund Boards have endeavoured to walk independently of their legitimate guides, and to trust their own empirical conclusions rather than the experience of trained educationalists, we are most ready to recognise the value of the services which it is in the power of these Boards to render, by an effective and vigilant supervision of the local operations of the educational officers. The gross frauds which have recently been exposed in the western division of the Presidency ; the wholesale misappropriation of money by the subordinate agents ; and the purely fictitious results which were adduced to support the expenditure, and accepted by the highest local officers of the Education Department ; scandals of this kind will probably become almost impossible under a system which interests so many independent and respectable persons in guarding against local abuses. For these evils arise wholly from the deficiency of control by Inspectors of schools ; who must be Argus-eyed as well as ubiquitous if they are to keep their crowd of subordinates in proper check throughout their enormous ranges. One of the most crying needs of the Educational Department is an increase in the number of Inspectors. The lower ranks of the department have been so strengthened that they fairly cover the ground. But Inspectors have still enormous ranges, covering 20 or 30,000 square miles ; of which they make one painful circuit each year, and find it next to impossible to leave this fixed route, even if their presence in any particular place is urgently required ; for fear that some part of their range would be left altogether unvisited during the year. But even this yearly visit is wholly inadequate, if an

Inspector is to be held responsible for the efficiency of his schools. A clever master knowing long before-hand the approximate date of the inspector's visit, can prepare his boys with a hasty polish, till they shine like the well-rubbed handcuffs in a police station prepared for the superintendent's visit. And then for the rest of the year he relapses into torpor, and prepares himself for some service examination, only disturbed by a no less rare and as well foretold visit from the Deputy Inspector. This might all be changed by a considerable reduction in the area of the Inspectors' ranges—a measure which while it increased the efficiency of their supervision of schools of the higher and middle classes, would also enable them to see more than they now do of the lower class schools and elementary education. The deputy inspectors are a fairly-efficient body of men, but not remarkable for strenuous exertion or strict supervision. They are generally men with a grievance, hankering after some other line of employment and more substantial rewards. Nor is their discontent altogether groundless. A system of management which always succeeds in making a man's salary about half what it might be, and which grudges every increase, however long the service, and however hard the work, is certain to disgust the ambitious, and to discourage the industrious. It treats the good and bad with equal thanklessness, and effectually secures extreme unpopularity to every rank of the service to which it is applied.

We cannot close this review of the position of educational questions without noticing the recent loss that has befallen the interests of education in the retirement from public service of Mr. A. J. Arbuthnot, C.S.I. A long and honourable term of service carried him to the highest position that an Indian Civilian can reach ; but his reputation in Madras will be founded not on what he was, but on what he did ; and chiefly on the good work that marked his tenure of the post of Director of Public Instruction, and which he carried forward as Chief Secretary and Member of Council. To say that Mr. Arbuthnot was the most eminent and able man that Madras has seen for many years would be to challenge a comparison of him with others who have excelled by wholly different powers, and walked in very different paths. It is better to point to the contrast between the condition of education when he left the country last year, and that in which he found it fifteen years ago. The improvement that marks the developed system of university, colleges, and schools, is probably more directly due to the labours of Mr. Arbuthnot than of any other individual in Southern India. And if in those labours he was aided by many able workers ; when he advanced to the legislation that alone could complete and confirm the educational edifice, by providing a constant supply of material support for elementary education—when he took in

hand the Local Funds' Act, he found himself almost alone. His old colleagues and assistants fell away, and not merely cold murmurs of doubt and suspicion, but loud cries of opposition met him, where he should have expected to find an impartial and calm, if not a sympathetic audience. That controversy is, for the present at least, over, and it is not well to revive it. That time will strengthen and justify the Local Fund legislation, and experience prove the emptiness of the alarm that those measures have excited we entertain very little doubt. But so strong has been the temporary ill-will that that legislation won for its author; and so personal in its direction against the promoter of the measure rather than against the measure itself; that hardly a sincere word of regret was uttered when Mr. Arbuthnot left the country. Such a spirit is discreditable to the Presidency, which should have been grateful to its most useful official; and to the Service, which should have been proud of its most eminent member.

In the little Pedlington society of India there is no such thing as public opinion; and a man's social and personal defects may mar his public life, and his official reputation. Only when the personal elements are removed from the analysis of his character; when those who judge him can see the results of his work apart from the manner of the man; then will he receive his meed of fame or its opposite.

If those who disparage the recent legislation for the support and spread of education, found their criticisms on a contempt for the object aimed at; they are fighting against light and knowledge, and their refutation is written on their premises. If, however, they approve the end aimed at, and only disapprove of the methods followed, it remains their task to develop a better system, which by more perfect instruments shall effect the desired object of spreading education. The reaction, that Mr. Arbuthnot seemed to dread, is impossible. It remains for those in power to-day to decide in favour of wavering in action, or of wise and steady progress.

[INDEPENDENT SECTION.]

OUR COMMERCIAL EXPLOITATION OF THE INDIAN POPULATIONS.

(III.)—ITS DYNAMICS.

The measure of utterly abolishing the army and replacing it by a police will give effect to the longings which have arisen everywhere in Europe and above all in France.

* * * * *

In France, as an indispensable preliminary to this measure, it becomes necessary to signalise the advent of peace by a righteous restitution of Algeria to the Arabs. It would be impossible to maintain our rule there after this suppression of the French army. But quite apart from this consideration, the dominion of that country is utterly incompatible with the reconstruction of society in France. For this oppression was instituted and extended not without great cost with the express objects of reviving a propensity to warfare, of cultivating in foreign parts a ferocity destined for service at home, and above all of corrupting the central population of the West, to the end that they might be diverted from social aspirations by thus accepting an interest in a retrograde tyranny.

COMTE, Polit. Posit. iv., 419.

PROCEEDING with the dynamics of the sea-borne trade of India, I resume the exports in alphabetical order at that point of my tabular retrospect where my last article ended.

It will be seen by a reference to the schedule in the last chapter that the exports of JUTE have increased from £196,936 during 1850-51 to £2,577,552 during 1870-71. This is one of the few features of the enhanced trade upon which one can dwell with satisfaction. For the country in which jute is raised consists of those rich alluvial tracts of Eastern Bengal which in 1793 were assessed to land-tax permanently and, as it happened, moderately in comparison with other regions of Bengal and India. It is thus that the fertile lands on the Brahmaputra and the Gauges have had the advantage of escaping that rigorous taxation which is withering so many other portions of India. Moreover, apart from the privilege in respect to our land-tax, these alluvial meadows are cultivated by a population mostly Musalman in faith, a population therefore whose proprietary institutions, based on the jurisprudence of the Koran, afford little foothold for those incessant expedients of embarrassed Chancellors which fall so heavily on Hindu joint-family tenures moulded according to the Shastras. In another series of articles on "*Our Religious Embarrassments in India*," I shall describe incidentally how it was that fluvial Bengal came to be so rapidly converted to Islam, and how it happens that the Muhammadan peasantry enjoys so much more immunity than the Hindu does from the exactions of a foreign tax-gatherer and from the aggressions of a native farmer-general of land-tax. On the same occasion I shall give a systematic

exposition of that process of sub-infeudation in Eastern Bengal, which is now vexing our administration and is yet destined to baffle it.

For the present, this vast and rapid progress of jute exportation from a fifth to two and a half millions sterling (to say nothing of other staples from the fen lands of the Podda and the Megna), will give some idea of that increasing fund of rental in which the everlasting process of sub-leasing originates. Turning now from the prosperity of the natives who as rent-receivers or as rent-payers have to do with the raising of jute, I must glance for a moment at the recent ill-luck in consignments which has befallen so many English exporters of that article. This result, at first sight so curious, is in reality typical of the general unsoundness of our Indian business for several years back. It arises mainly from the fact that our merchants, finding but little encouragement on the imports side of their business, have turned too eagerly and too numerously to the standard staples of exportation in order to retrieve their disappointments; and have thus been betrayed into an ill-considered competition with each other to the general disadvantage of all shippers of such produce.* There are other circumstances also which have contributed to this untoward state of things. For example there has been undue subsidising of business by Indian banks, both inland and foreign,—banks which have been constituted or extended on erroneous calculations as to the real tendency of Indian industries. Such miscalculations on the part of Bank shareholders, need not surprise us when we see how ignorantly the highest officials of State in India and the India Office will manipulate statistics of what they call *commercial* exports and imports. But the most important of all the circumstances which have led to the recent overtrading in Indian exports has been that which I have just noticed, the unfavourable experience of the import side of their business. This again brings us back to the consideration that the reason why the natives are thus proving but poor buyers is because their means are being so muddled away in mere taxes, taxes onerous in their amount, harassing in their nature, and injurious directly and indirectly to the welfare of the people.

The next article is OPIUM. As regards the history of our opium business I had rather spare myself and my readers the shameful chapter of our misdeeds in China during these twenty years down to our recent ignominious and happily abortive negotiations over the revision of the Treaty of Tientsin.

* Whence arise those violent fluctuations which occur nowadays in Indian trade and defeat the shrewdest calculations?—From these three circumstances; 1st, that Indian in-

dustry is being unnaturally forced; 2nd, that it is being limited to few staples, 3rd, that those staples consist of raw produce unwrought.

The next subject to be noticed is the stagnation of the SALT-PETRE trade. £369,543 worth was exported in 1850-51, £440,554 in 1870-71, and the profits on the business have been even less than these stationary figures indicate. Saltpetre is one of those staples which have been all but killed by the insensate exactions of our Indian ministers of finance since the mutiny. Apart from these burdens the industry has always been subjected to disadvantage by a constant jealousy of the salt-tax officials lest the labourers should dare to eat or to give to others such impure salt as is thrown up from the soil by incrustation.

But, as I have just said, the most fatal depression of all has been the system of enormous export duties which were begun in 1860, even by a minister so experienced as Mr. Wilson. (So little does even the greatest ability avail to ensure decent administration: "*our government of India is in its best state a grievance.*") Indian saltpetre was thereby so enhanced in cost that chemists in Europe set to work to devise a substitute. Accordingly a nitrate from South-America (where the tax-gatherer is less mischievous than in Behar) has been made to yield that which used to be furnished from the valley of the Ganges with advantage both to producer and to consumer. The Government of India, yielding at length to remonstrances, made occasional concessions so as to permit the trade to revive, but as usual with such blunders in India, the remissions came too late. It stands upon official record that many natives who formerly found useful employment in gathering saltpetre have been robbed of their livelihoods and of their very lives by this bread-filching of ours which we choose to call taxation. (Compare page 4, Parliamentary Blue Book on the Behar Famine of 1865-66). And no one has been even blamed for all this!

The wretched Many bent beneath their loads
Do gaze at pageant power, nor recognise
Their cots' transmuted plunder.

It is some slight consolation to reflect that when once the industrial pursuits of India are relieved from the incubus of our domination, and receive—not such "encouragement" as that of our Agricultural and Commercial Departments,—but simply fair play and decent justice, under a Government less costly and less restless than the present, there will be few articles of commerce yielding more prompt or more assured profits than this staple of Indian saltpetre which has suffered so cruelly at the hands of English misrule.

In 1850-51 (oil)—SEEDS—Linseed, Rape, &c.,—were exported to the amount of £339,514, in 1870-71 to the amount of £3,522,305. This increase is a matter for congratulation, in some instances of rich soil and advantageous conditions of life such as I have pointed out in reference to the jute of Eastern Bengal.

But taking all India together we find some painful drawbacks to this satisfaction.

The most fashionable explanation of the tenfold increase in oil-seeds during these twenty years is that it was at the time of the Russian war, while Baltic and Euxine produce was being excluded from Western Europe, that the trade in seeds obtained its chief start in India. With our official and semi-official annalists the Russian war is a favourite *deus ex machina* in ordinary for explaining the enhanced figures of all Indian trade between 1850 and 1860. These people have a profound belief in "*commerce united with and made to flourish by war*;" indeed, with them warfare and destruction rank but little after mortgage and taxation as the proper fosterers of Indian industry. It is true that the closing of the Baltic did produce a great effect on the growth of Indian oil-seeds immediately before the exporting season of 1854-55, the only year when any such influence can be decisively affirmed, and this impulse doubtless continued to last for some little time after. But it is simply preposterous to allege that a war which was finished in 1855 proceeded thereafter to make a deeper and deeper impress on the raising of linseed and rapeseed throughout India during each of the following 15 years. If a foreign influence is to be looked for in these later years, a more potent and durable one will be found in taxation frequently increased in area and constantly increased in rate throughout the 20 years under review.

Tabular statements professing to demonstrate Indian prosperity by collated statistics of the seed-trade may impose on a doctrinaire or an optimist at home, but not on one who has any real acquaintance with Indian husbandry. In point of fact over many tracts of India the progress in seeds represents as it were a second crop taken off a soil which thus and otherwise has been unduly tried in each of these 20 years. Linseed, rapeseed, and teelseed or gingelly are among the peculiar favourites of the village loan-monger. The loan-monger (the *bunnea* of Northern, the *mahajan* of Central, and the *sowcar* or *sahukar* of Southern India) is an object of most persistent obloquy with our self-satisfied and comfortable officials, notwithstanding the fact that without his assistance the treasuries could not be filled year by year with taxes. For the usurer is the indispensable functionary who intermediates between the Hindu cultivator, on the one hand, and, on the other, the English tax-collector with his various subordinates, especially the *zemindar* or the *tehsildar*. While the Hindu cultivator acts for his household, the English Collector likewise acts for his principals, namely, that Anglo-Indian plutocracy in whose behalf India is farmed out like the great coffee plantation of Java. Oil-seeds are one of those exports to which in most cases the ryot has betaken himself not because he has been growing more prosperous, but

because he has become harder and harder pressed. For the time it is certainly a very nice thing for certain interested sections of the English people that India should thus be made to furnish lubricants for iron machinery in English towns and oil-cake fattening for steers in English farms. Yet one cannot help wishing that, whether from oil-seeds or from any other of those crops which though really more needed in India are in many places being deteriorated or suppressed on behalf of exportable oil-seeds, a little more lubricant could be retained for the enfeebled human muscle in Indian households, and a little more fodder retained for the degenerating cattle in Indian yards.

If the English reader would realise in its full painfulness what is the actual state of things that is betokened by most of the vaunted progresses in the export staples of India, let him endeavour to conceive a state of things under which his country should be governed by the Chinese in the same way as India is by the English. Let him conceive how things would be felt at home if the ordinary English farmer had to part with the finer kinds of grain to a foreign consumer and had to feed both his family and his cattle upon the coarser crops. Under such a *régime* would not man and beast gradually degenerate in physique? What wonder if at last man and beast were to breed new and appalling forms of disease like cholera and rinderpest, forms rapidly aggravating in virulence to the degree of excessive contagiousness? * What wonder if the English native were to fail of being convinced by the export statistics of some M. P. for a cluster of boroughs in Manchoo Tartary, who, as Under-Secretary at the Britannia Office in Peking, "with many holiday and

* Further enquiry about the cattle epidemic in Europe and Asia will probably disclose that rinderpest like cholera comes originally from British India, and that the one like the other is a product of our taskmastership. It is only within the area, and it is only within the period of our exploiting the human and the other live stocks of India that cholera certainly and probably rinderpest have arisen at all, or at least have been aggravated into virulent epidemics. Beyond all doubt it is only in India and only within a recent period in India that cholera, as we know it, has become established as an epidemic. If, through some curse on the human race our dominion in India were to be indefinitely prolonged, it might evolve yet other and grander pestilences like the

successive plagues of Egypt which should avenge oppression upon its innocent victims, upon its guilty authors and upon its conniving spectators. As the true history of cholera becomes better known in Europe, it will become more and more an object of general concern to the human race that the English should retire or be driven from India. Meanwhile remedial treatment is of little avail with cholera or rinderpest in India. For the one supreme requisite of all is that man and beast should have enough of good food to eat. But a wholesome diet in sufficiency is the very condition of life which from decade to decade our rule is necessarily precluding more and more throughout this Empire.

lady terms" assured the distant British farmer that all this was prosperity?

"A certain man (preaching to the deaf) described the peasants as wearing a pain-stricken look, a look past complaint as if the oppression of the great were like the hail and the thunder, a thing irremediable, the ordinance of nature! And these people pay the taxes! And now you want to take cesses from them! And you know not what it is that you are stripping barer, or as you call it governing, what by the spurt of your pen in its cold dastard indifference, you fancy you can starve always with impunity; always—till the catastrophe come! Ah! Madame! Such government by blind-man's-buff, stumbling along too far, will end in the general overturn.

"A traveller walking up hill, bridle in hand, overtakes a poor woman, the image as such commonly are of drudgery and scarcity, looking 60 years of age though she is not yet 28. She has rents and quitrents; hens to pay to this seigneur, oatsacks to that; King, taxes, statute labour, church taxes, taxes enough; and thinks the times *inexpressible*. She has heard that somewhere, somehow, something is to be done for the poor. God send it soon," says she, for the dues and taxes crush us down."

The next staple to be examined is SILK. This has suffered the usual fate of all native manufactures under British rule. It so happens that a special memoir on Indian silk has lately been published by the Under-Secretary of the new Department of Agriculture, Revenue and Commerce. Mr. Geoghegan has executed his melaucholy task with care and judgment, which, however, fail to render his annals of industrial servitude and commercial decay other than extremely depressing to the reader. Altogether the volume is an excellent specimen of the least mischievous work to which that new and useless department can devote itself, but it suggests feelings of regret that the talents of this particular writer should be frittered away on such employment at all. It is unfortunate and perhaps significant that an author so judicious has not volunteered any explanation of his own as to how it has come to pass that during the last hundred years the silk industry of India has made so little progress, nay has in reality receded.

The exports of raw silk from India were valued at £619,319 in 1850-51, and at £1,351,346 in 1870-71. The difference represents mainly a rise in price occasioned by the more extensive consumption and demand in Europe and America during these two decades of a wonderful increase of riches throughout Western society. The quantities exported in the earlier years of the period are not to be found in the defective compilation of the Financial Department from which I have been quoting in this article. I

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am indebted to Mr. Geoghegan's memoir for the following figures which supply the defect in respect of the silk of Bengal, by far the most important province of all.

Period.		Average exports in lbs.
From 1838-39 to 1841-42	...	1,384,242
" 1842-43 „ 1845-46	...	1,555,130
" 1846-47 „ 1850-51	...	1,290,024
" 1851-52 „ 1855-56	...	1,511,506
" 1856-57 „ 1860-61	...	1,511,768
" 1861-62 „ 1865-66	...	1,485,763
" 1866-67 „ 1870-71	...	1,558,246

Mr. Geoghegan justly remarks on the fact that while the exports from Bengal have been almost stationary, those of China and Japan have increased to an enormous extent.

But these figures, disheartening as they are, refer to raw silk only, and they disclose nothing of the far more lamentable decline of the manufactured article. The industries of silk weaving and silk dyeing have been all but extinguished since the accession of the English to empire in India. Mr. Geoghegan makes occasional allusions to the fact, as thus; "The industry still exists about Maldah and English Bazar, but in a languishing condition. The aspect of the town of old Maldah is that of the dreariest decay." (p. 16.) At a few lines below this passage occurs the following sketch of the domestic industries of Assam extracted from an old description of the country which had been written in the days when that province had not yet come under the beneficent sway of the English. "The native women of all castes, from the queen downwards, weave the four kinds of silk that are produced in the country and with which three-fourths of the people are clothed.* Considerable quantities of the two coarser kinds are also exported. There may be one loom for every two women, and in great families there are eight or ten which are wrought by the slave girls. The raw material is seldom purchased; each family spins and weaves the silk which it rears, and petty dealers go round and purchase for ready money whatsoever can be spared for exportation, or for the use of the few persons who wear none of their own." Again in a footnote Mr. Geoghegan gives the following suggestive lines: "Mr. Holwell, writing in 1759, mentions six kinds of cloth and raw silk as being exported from Nattore (in Rajshahye, Bengal,) both to Europe and to the markets of Bussora, Mocha, Judda, Pegu, Acheen, and Malacca."

* A similar description of cotton spinning as a domestic occupation of all classes of women would have applied over the greater part of India before our time.

It is certain that silk has been wrought in India from the very earliest periods ; and, if the origin of it were a question admitting of useful discussion, it might be urged that it is at least as likely that the silkworm, like certain intellectual products of Hindu civilisation, was carried eastward from the banks of the Ganges to the banks of the Yang-tse-Kiang, as that it came westward from China into India. Thus there is one important species of the undomesticated insect which is certainly indigenous to this country, and its Sanskrit name *tasar* or *tusser* (also meaning shuttle or so to speak the "shuttle-worm : " "the shuttle-worm's web") was once a familiar term of European merchandise. So also the principal domesticated species is called the *desghi* or the country insect. The names of the social classes connected with silk, names which appear among very ancient enumerations of the castes, go to prove the same thing. A still more convincing proof of the extreme antiquity of Indian sericulture will be found in the fact that the most critical industrial processes in silk rearing had been subjected to a systematic *régime* of theocratic ritual. Mr. Geoghegan glances at the common theory of silk having been originated in China and having been imported from there into India, but he very sensibly puts aside the question of the origin of the industry as of little importance in comparison with that of its progress.

To us at present the really important fact about Indian silk is this. It has been left for the rapacity, for the well-intentioned rapacity, of conquistadores from England to maim an industry which had been reared under the Henri Quatres, the Colberts, and the Vaucansons of Hindustan. It has remained for Pizarros from England to undo a manufacture which had been cherished by the statesmanship of Hindu Rajas, disciplined by the wisdom of Hindu priests, and fostered by the zeal of Muhammadan Nawabs. Finally the manufacture now maintains but a precarious footing, and that only in those provinces which are jungly and outlying or in those territories which have been but recently annexed, and which have, therefore, not yet attained the full benefit of English civilisation and English free trade. "*The Tartar invasions were mischievous, but it is our protection that is ruining India.*"

It will be for a future annalist to trace the details of this melancholy process. Meanwhile Mr. Geoghegan has produced in original and in a form convenient for ready reference all the stock explanations of English writers on the subject. These are of the usual kind, namely, this or that turpitude of natives which though described as inherent in them has strangely come into prominence only in the last century during which the English have happened to be ruling the country. This explanation seems to have given little satisfaction to Mr. Geoghegan himself,

for after the most careful research he remarks on the extraordinary scantiness of tangible information about the successive steps of the decline. Unfortunately, he seems to have overlooked the most reliable of all the treatises on the silk and the other industries of India, that of Burke, in his Ninth Report.

Among the various disturbing influences that have dislocated every native manufacture there are two, described by Burke, that have inflicted almost irreparable injuries on Indian silk. These two have been, first, the *investment* system of the last century, that is to say, the monopoly or pre-emption resorted to by our Government in order to levy the English tribute; second, the systematic efforts of our Government to discourage the manufacture of the wrought material and to stimulate the production of the raw article, all for the benefit of a few silk capitalists in England, some of them members of the House of Commons itself.

These two influences are described in the following extracts from the Ninth Report of 1783:—

“Manufactured Silk.”

“WHAT happened with regard to raw silk is still more remarkable, and tends still more clearly to illustrate the effects of commercial servitude during its unchecked existence, and the consequences which may be made to arise from its suddenly attempted reformation. On laying open the trade, the article of raw silk was instantly enhanced to the Company full 80 per cent. The contract for that commodity, wound off in the Bengal method, which used to sell for less than six rupees, or thirteen shillings, for two pounds weight, arose to nine rupees, or near twenty shillings, and the filature silk was very soon after contracted for at fourteen.

“The presidency accounted for this rise by observing, that the price had before been *arbitrary*, and that the persons who purveyed for the Company paid no more than ‘what was *judged* sufficient for the maintenance of the first providers.’ This fact explains more fully than the most laboured description can do, the dreadful effects of the previous monopoly on the cultivators. They had the *sufficiency* of their maintenance measured out by the judgment of those who were to profit by their labour; and this measure was not a great deal more, by their own account, than about two-thirds of the value of that labour. In all probability it was much less, as these dealings rarely passed through intermediate hands without leaving a considerable profit. These oppressions, it will be observed, were not confined to the Company’s share, which however covered a great part of the trade; but as this was an article permitted to the servants, the same power of arbitrary valuation must have been extended over the whole, as the market must be equalized if any authority at all is extended over it by those who have an interest in the restraint. The price was not only raised, but in the manufactures the quality was debased nearly in an equal proportion.

The Directors conceived with great reason, that this rise of price and debasement of quality arose not from the effect of a free market, but from the servants having taken that opportunity of throwing upon the market of their masters the refuse goods of their own private trade at such exorbitant prices as by mutual connivance they were pleased to settle. The mischief was greatly aggravated by its happening at a time when the Company were obliged to pay for their goods with bonds bearing a high interest.

"The perplexed system of the Company's concerns, composed of so many opposite movements and contradictory principles, appears nowhere in a more clear light. If trade continued under restraint, their territorial revenues must suffer by checking the general prosperity of the country : if they set it free, means were taken to raise the price and debase the quality of the goods ; and this again fell upon the revenues, out of which the payment for the goods was to arise.

* * * * *

"In the mortifying dilemma to which the Directors found themselves reduced, whereby the ruin of the revenues either by the freedom or the restraint of trade was evident, they considered the first as most rapid and urgent : and therefore they once more revert to the system of their ancient pre-emption, and destroy that freedom, which they had so lately and with so much solemnity proclaimed, and that before it could be abused or even enjoyed. They declare that, 'unwilling as we are to return to the *former coercive system* of providing an investment, or to abridge that freedom of commerce which has been so lately established in Bengal, yet at the same time finding it our indispensable duty to strike at the root of an evil, which has been so severely felt by the Company, and which can no longer be supported, we hereby direct, that all persons whatever in the Company's service, *or under our protection*, be absolutely prohibited, by public advertisement, from trading in any of those articles which compose our investment, directly or indirectly, except on account of and for the East India Company, until their investment is completed.'

"As soon as this order was received in Bengal, it was construed, as indeed the words seemed directly to warrant, to exclude all natives, as well as servants, from the trade, until the Company was supplied. The Company's pre-emption was now authoritatively re-established, and some feeble and ostensible regulations were made to relieve weavers who might suffer by it.

* * * * *

"The spirit of increasing the investment from revenue at any rate and the resolution of driving all competitors, Europeans or natives, out of the market, prevailed at a period still more early, and prevailed not only in Bengal, but seems, more or less, to have diffused itself through the whole sphere of the Company's influence. In 1768 they gave to the Presidency of Madras the following memorable instruction strongly declaratory of their general system of policy.

"We shall depend upon your prudence (say they) to discourage foreigners ; and, being intent, as you have been repeatedly acquainted,

on bringing home as great a part of the revenues as possible in your manufactures, the outbidding them in those parts, where they interfere with you, would certainly prove an effectual step for answering that end. We therefore recommend it to you to offer such increase of price as you shall deem may be consistently given; that by beating them out of the market the quantities by you to be provided may be proportionably enlarged; and if you take this method, it is to be so cautiously practised as not to enhance the prices in the places immediately under your control. On this subject we must not omit the approval of your prohibiting the weavers of Cuddalore from making up any cloth of the same assortments that are provided for us; and if such prohibition is not now, it should by all means be in future, *made general and strictly maintained.*'

"This system must have an immediate tendency towards disordering the trade of India, and must finally end in great detriment to the Company itself. The effect of the restrictive system on the weaver is evident. The authority given to the servants to buy at an advanced price did of necessity furnish means and excuses for every sort of fraud in their purchases. The instant the servant of a merchant is admitted, on his own judgment, to overbid the market, or to send goods to his master which shall sell at a loss, there is no longer any standard upon which his unfair practices can be estimated, or any effectual means by which they can be restrained. The hope, entertained by the Directors, of confining this destructive practice, of giving an enhanced price to a particular spot, must ever be found totally delusive. Speculations will be affected by this artificial price in every quarter in which markets can have the least communication with each other."

The Ninth Report is mainly devoted to the affairs of Bengal, and only incidentally glances at the affairs of Madras. But Burke has reviewed the industrial system of Southern India in a speech delivered on the subject of this very Report, a speech which in the new-fashioned cant of the present parliamenteers "was spoken from his place in the House."* On that occasion the same statesman (who, by the way, unlike to some of our leaders in our day, had understood aright the grand struggle of his day in America) described in words never answered nor answerable the deplorable effects of our accession to empire in Asia, how society became disorganised, how the once flourishing though simple industries of silk and of cotton received those fatal injuries from which even to this day they have not and could not have recovered.

"It is only to complete the view I proposed of the conduct of the Company with regard to the dependent provinces, that I shall say anything at all of the Carnatic, which is the scene if possible of greater disorder than the Northern Provinces. Perhaps it were better to say of

* As if a member of Parliament cannot find a better audience than who has anything worth saying that round the mass bauble,

this centre and metropolis of abuse, whence all the rest in India and in England diverge, from whence they are fed and methodised, what was said of Carthage—*de Carthagine satius est silere quam parum dicere*. This country in all its denominations is about 46,000 square miles. It may be affirmed universally that not one person of substance or property, landed, commercial, or monied, excepting two or three bankers who are the necessary deposits and distributors of the general spoil, is left in all that region. In that country the moisture, the bounty of Heaven, is given, but at a certain season. Before the era of our influence, the industry of man carefully husbanded that gift of God. The Gentoo preserved with a provident and religious care the precious deposit of the periodical rain in reservoirs, many of them works of royal grandeur; and from these, as occasion demanded, they fructified the whole country. To maintain these reservoirs and to keep up an annual advance to the cultivators formed a principal object of the priests and rulers of the Gentoo religion.

"This object required a command of money; and there was no pollam (or castle) which in the happy days of the Carnatic was without some hoard of treasure, by which the governors were enabled to combat with the irregularity of the seasons and to resist or to buy off the invasion of an enemy. In all the cities were multitudes of merchants and bankers for all occasions of monied assistance; and on the other hand the native princes were in a condition to obtain credit from them. The manufacturer was paid by the return of commodities or by imported money, and not as at present in the taxes that had been originally exacted from his industry. In aid of casual distress the country was full of ohoultries, which were inns and hospitals where the traveller and the poor were relieved. All ranks of people had their place in the public concern and their share in the common stock and common prosperity; but the 'chartered rights of men' and the right which it was thought proper to set up in the [name of] the Nabob of Arcot, introduced a new system. *It was their policy to consider hoards of money as crimes; to regard moderate rents as frauds on the Sovereign; and to view in the lesser princes any claim of exemption from more than settled tribute as an act of rebellion. Accordingly all the castles were one after another plundered and destroyed. The native princes were expelled; the hospitals fell to ruin; the reservoirs of water went to decay; the merchants, bankers and manufacturers disappeared; and sterility, indigence, and depopulation overspread the face of these once flourishing provinces.*

"The Company was very early sensible of these mischiefs and of their true cause. They gave precise orders 'that the native princes called polygars should not be *extirpated*.' * * * * It is now proper to compare these declarations with the Company's conduct. The principal reason which they assigned against the *extirpation* of the polygars was that the *weavers* were protected in their fortresses. They might have added, that the Company itself which stung them to death had been warmed in the bosom of these unfortunate princes, for on the taking of Madras by the French, it was in their hospitable pollams that most of the inhabitants found refuge and protection. * * * Having, however, forgot all attention to the princes and the people,

they remembered that they had some sort of interest in the trade of the country; and it is a matter of curiosity to observe the protection which they afforded to this their natural object. Full of anxious cares on this head they direct 'that in reducing the polygars they (the Company's servants) were to be *cautious* not to deprive the *'weavers and manufacturers* of the protection they often met with 'in the strongholds of the polygar countries,' and they write to their instrument, the Nabob of Arcot, concerning these poor people in a most pathetic strain:—"We *entreat* your Excellency (say they) in particular to make the manufacturers the object of your *tenderest care*, particularly when you *root out* the polygars, do not deprive the *weavers of the protection they enjoyed under them.*' When they root out the protectors 'in favour of the oppressed, they show themselves religiously cautious of the rights of the protected. When they extirpate the shepherd and the shepherd's dog, they piously recommend the helpless flock to the mercy and even to the *tenderest care* of the wolf. *This is the uniform strain of their policy, strictly forbidding, and at the same time strenuously encouraging and enforcing every measure that can ruin the country committed to their charge*"*

Before closing this narrative of the action of the pre-emption system of tribute levy, it is necessary to advert to one characteristic thereof which proved specially fatal to the silk weavers of Bengal. Mr. Geoghegan writes (page 4):—

"For 1781, military exigencies 'had absorbed' the provision made for investment in silk, and in order to keep up the factories and prevent the dispersion of the new trained workmen, it was resolved to throw open the trade in raw silk and to offer the Company's filatures on lease to 'adventurers.' The measure was not carried out till 1783, and in 1785 the exclusive trade was resumed and a yearly provision of 540,000 small pounds ordered. Owing, however, to calamities of season† this amount was in no year reached till 1793. * * * * From

* Macaulay has described a similar inconsistency in the instructions from the Home Government, an inconsistency which is by no means obsolete at the present day.

"The Directors, it is true, never "enjoined or applauded any crime. "Far from it. Whoever examines "their letters will find there many "just and humane sentiments, many "excellent precepts, in short an admirable code of political ethics. But "every exhortation is modified or "nullified by a demand for money. "Govern leniently and send more "money; practise strict moderation "towards neighbouring powers and "send more money." Now these "instructions being interpreted mean

"simply, 'Be the father and the "oppressor of the people; be just "and unjust, moderate and rapacious.' The Directors dealt with "India as the Church, in the good "old times, dealt with a heretic. "They delivered the victim over to "the executioners, with an earnest "request that all possible tenderness "might be shown."

† I am sure Mr. Geoghegan has compiled accurately, but Query, seven successive years of uniformly bad weather? Certainly the weather has been made to answer for a great deal in India, *vide* modern reports on famines, on the failure of railway and road embankments *passim*.

1793 to 1808, the supply of silk from Bengal fluctuated within wide limits, as will be seen from the following table :—

Year.				lbs.
1793	...	...	...	769,873
1794	...	...	...	494,487
1795	...	...	...	392,527
1796	...	...	...	361,106
1797	...	...	...	88,219
1798	...	...	...	352,780
1799	...	...	...	645,421
&c.	&c.	&c.	&c.	

Thus the calamity to the weavers was not merely that they had to accept the remuneration fixed by an arbitrary, alien and hostile monopolist, but many of them might receive no remuneration at all. When one considers why it is that to an artisan's family desultoriness of employment is much more ruinous morally and otherwise than mere scantiness of wage is, one will have some idea of the misery inflicted on the weavers of Bengal in having to adapt themselves to these violent and reckless fluctuations of policy, these epileptic convulsions of a disordered finance.

With regard to the second class of injuries, from which up to this time Indian silk has not, because it could not have recovered, do not the following remarks (or shall I rather say misgivings?) of the Under-Secretary read like a chapter out of a similar fiscal chronicle in Ireland?

"On the acquisition of the dewanee, efforts were made to extend the cultivation of silk. The planting of mulberry was urged upon zemindars and landholders, and encouragement given for the clearing of land suited for this purpose. Apparently something stronger than persuasion was at this time brought into play in promoting the spread of sericulture, for the Court of Directors felt themselves constrained to warn the Government of Bengal that 'though there was no branch of this trade which they more ardently wished to extend than that of raw silk, yet they could not think of effecting so desirable an object by any measures that might be oppressive to the natives or attended by any infringement of that freedom, security, and felicity which it was desired they should enjoy under the Company's government and protection.' It was in the same despatch suggested that it should be made worth while to silk *weavers* to forsake that occupation and take to silk *winding*. In conformity with the instructions of the Court, an advertisement was published in 1772 inviting ryots to cultivate mulberry in addition to their actual holdings, and declaring that new or waste lands laid out or reclaimed for this purpose should be held rent-free for two years, and at half the *pergunnah* rate for the third year. This measure resulted in a large increase of exportations, but the silk being still badly reeled, the market became overstocked.

Nevertheless this point had not been overlooked by the Directors for 'they had in 1769 decided to introduce into Bengal the exact mode of winding practised in the filatures of Italy and other parts of the Continent,' and for this purpose had sent out three gentlemen, Messrs. Wiss, Robinson, and Aubert, assisted by a staff of reelers and mechanics chosen from Italy and France, and provided with tools, implements, and models, to enable them to set on foot in the Bengal filatures, the system pursued at Novi. M. Aubert died on the way out, but Messrs. Robinson and Wiss had arrived in Bengal," &c. &c. (pages 2, 3).

Burke, who in Ireland, his own native country, was well acquainted with a commercial servitude disguised as free trade, has described these very same proceedings in a narrative clearer than that of the Under-Secretary who has last been cited :—

" Raw Silk.

"THE trade in *raw silk* was at all times more popular in England than really advantageous to the Company. In addition to the old jealousy which prevailed between the Company and the manufactory interest of England, they came to labour under no small odium on account of the distresses of India. The public in England perceived, and felt with a proper sympathy, the sufferings of the Eastern Provinces in all cases in which they might be attributed to the abuses of power exercised under the Company's authority. But they were not equally sensible to the evils which arose from a system of sacrificing the being of that country to the advantage of this. They entered very readily into the former, but with regard to the latter were slow and incredulous. It is not therefore extraordinary that the Company should endeavour to ingratiate themselves with the public by falling in with its prejudices. Thus they were led to increase the grievance in order to allay the clamour. They continued still upon a larger scale, and still more systematically, that plan of conduct, which was the principal, though not the most blamed, cause of the decay and depopulation of the country committed to their care.

"With that view, and to furnish a cheap supply of materials to the manufactures of England, they formed a scheme, which tended to destroy, or at least essentially to impair, the whole manufacturing interest of Bengal. A policy of that sort could not fail of being highly popular; when the Company submitted itself as an instrument for the improvement of British manufactures, instead of being their most dangerous rival, as heretofore they had been always represented.

"They accordingly notified to their presidency in Bengal, in their letter of the 17th of March 1769, that 'there was no branch of their trade they more ardently wish to extend, than that of raw silk.' They disclaim, however, all desire of employing compulsory measures for that purpose, but recommended every mode of encouragement, and particularly by augmented wages, '*in order to induce manufacturers of wrought silk to quit that branch, and take to the winding of raw silk.*'

"Having thus found means to draw hands from the manufacture, and confiding in the strength of a capital drawn from the public revenues,

they pursue their ideas from the purchase of their manufacture to the purchase of the material in its crudest state. 'We recommend you to give an *increased price*, if necessary, *so as to take that trade out of the hands of other merchants and rival nations.*' A double bounty was thus given against the manufactures, both in the labour and in the materials.

"It is very remarkable in what manner their vehement pursuit of this object led the Directors to a speedy oblivion of those equitable correctives, before interposed by them, in order to prevent the mischiefs, which were apparent in the scheme, if left to itself. They could venture so little to trust to the bounties given from the revenues, a trade which had a tendency to dry up their source, that by the time they had proceeded to the 33rd paragraph of their letter, they revert to those very compulsory means which they had disclaimed but three paragraphs before. To prevent silk-winders from working in their private houses, where they might work for private traders, and to confine them to the Company's factories, where they could only be employed for the Company's benefit, they desire that the newly acquired power of Government should be effectually employed. 'Should (say they) this practice, through *inattention*, have been suffered to take place again, it will be proper to put a stop to it, which may *now be more effectually done by an absolute prohibition, under severe penalties, by the authority of Government.*'

"This letter contains a perfect plan of policy, both of compulsion and encouragement, which must, in a very considerable degree, operate destructively to the manufactures of Bengal. *Its effect must be (so far as it could operate without being eluded) to change the whole face of that industrious country, in order to render it a field for the produce of crude materials subservient to the manufactures of Great Britain.* The manufacturing hands were to be seduced from their looms by high wages, in order to prepare a raw produce for our market; they were to be locked up in the factories; and the commodity acquired by these operations was, in this immature state, carried out of the country, whilst its looms would be left without any material but the debased refuse of a market enhanced in its price, and scantied in its supply. By the increase of the price of this and other materials, manufactures, formerly the most flourishing, gradually disappeared under the protection of Great Britain, and were seen to rise again and flourish on the opposite coast of India under the dominion of the Mahrattas.

"These restraints and encouragements seem to have had the desired effect in Bengal with regard to the diversion of labour from manufacture to materials. The trade of raw silk increased rapidly. But the Company very soon felt, in the increase of price and debasement of quality of the wrought goods, a loss to themselves, which fully counterbalanced all the advantages to be derived to the nation from the increase of the raw commodity."

* * * * *

The Directors declare themselves unable to understand how this could be. Perhaps it was not so difficult. But pressed as they

were by the greatness of their payments which they were compelled to make to Government in England, the cries of Bengal could not be heard among the contending claims of the General Court, of the Treasury, and of Spitalfields.

* * * * *

"During the time of their struggles for enlarging this losing trade which they considered as a national object, what in one point of view it was, and if it had not been grossly mismanaged, might have been in more than one ;—in this part it is impossible to refuse to the Directors a very great share of merit ; no degree of thought, of trouble, or of reasonable expense, was spared by them for the improvement of the commodity. They framed with diligence, and apparently on very good information, a code of manufacturing regulations for that purpose ; and several persons were sent out conversant in the Italian method of preparing and winding silk, aided by proper machines for facilitating and perfecting the work. This, under proper care and in course of time, might have produced a real improvement to Bengal ; but, in the first instance, it naturally drew the business from native management, and it caused a revulsion from the trade and manufactures of India, which led as naturally and inevitably to a European monopoly, in some hands or other, as any of the modes of coercion which were or could be employed. The evil was present and inherent in the act. The means of letting the natives into the benefit of the improved system of produce was likely to be counteracted by the general ill-conduct of the Company's concerns abroad. *For a while at least it had an effect still worse ; for the Company purchasing the raw cocoon, or silk-pod, at a fixed rate, the first producer, who, whilst he could wind at his own house employed his family in this labour, and could procure a reasonable livelihood by buying up the cocoons for the Italian filature, now incurred the enormous and ruinous loss of 50 per cent.* But for a long time, a considerable quantity of that in the old Bengal mode of winding was bought for the Company from contractors, and it continues to be so bought to the present time ; but the Directors complain, in their letter of the 12th of May 1780, that both species, and particularly the latter, had risen so extravagantly, that it was become more than 40 per cent. dearer than it had been fifteen years ago.

* * * * *

"Thus, having found by experience, that this trade, whilst carried on upon the old principles (of whatever advantage it might have been to the British manufacturers, or to the individuals who were concerned in it in Bengal) had proved highly detrimental to the Company, the Directors resolved to expunge the raw silk from their investment. They gave up the whole to private traders on condition of paying the freight, charges, and duties ; permitting them to send it to Europe in the Company's ships upon their own account.

"The whole of this history will serve to demonstrate, that all attempts which in their original system, or in their necessary consequences, tend to the distress of India, must, and in a very short time will, make

themselves felt even by those in whose favour such attempts have been made."

I commend this episode about the model silk reels from Novi to the attention of the Agricultural Department with its projects of model farms and model farmers. I commend it as a study of how utterly hopeless it is for a costly and doctrinaire agency of Government to re-import from abroad or to force up within the country, that industrial skill and experience which have been wholly stamped out, or are being persistently stunted by another and a more drastic agency of the very same Government itself. To the Department of Public Works Reproductive and to its advocates, Dr. W. W. Hunter and General Strachey, bewitched as they are by the glamour of the rise in prices, I commend the third paragraph from the end as a study of how futile, nay how calamitous, is that inflation of quotations, whether for silk or labour, which has been produced only by a lavish expenditure of Government from reckless borrowings. Or (adhering to the nomenclature of the political economist), I commend the explanation by Burke as an example how unsubstantial is that rise in nominal prices which results to any commodity on whose account a Government may proceed either to borrow coin in the money-market, or to manufacture inconvertible paper currency at its engraving presses. This subject will be treated at some length in the next article. Meanwhile, one may mark in the last century price currents of Indian silk as compiled by Burke that very same process of inflating wages which is taking place before our eyes at every canal and every railway now under construction throughout the country. For, when the Government thus enters into competition at these various works with every pre-existing industry of the neighbourhood, they do but galvanise wages into an unnatural rise—a rise which is speedily to be exacted from the coolies in the higher charges enforced by the zemindars and by the other possessors of natural monopolies, as well as by those private employers who have been put under a strain by the Government competition,—a rise also which will continue to be exacted from the coolies even when their short-lived prosperity shall have ceased with the abrupt cessation of the Government's tumultuous expenditure. Yet there are certain people on whom this nominal change in prices does really inflict a substantial nett loss. For the Government itself, having used up this much of its credit and having thereby in the end depreciated the efficiency of its own income in so far as that income is fixed, comes at last to find the evil effects of its own ill-projected Public Works Reproductive recoil on the projectors themselves with a redoubled, but an equitable retribution.

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In SUGAR the course of the export trade has been very similar to that in silk, but the decline has been still more remarkable.

		Quantity.		Value.
		cwts.		£
1850-51	...	1,591,614	...	1,823,965
1870-71	...	345,300	...	295,076

As usual it has been the more refined article, that involving some capital and skill, which has suffered the most severely. At last only the ruder sorts of mere raw produce, such as coarse jaggery, are maintaining a precarious struggle for a languishing existence. So effectually, indeed, has East Indian competition been crushed out on behalf of English planters in the West Indies and the Mauritius, that in the Bombay Presidency foreign sugars are imported to the extent of half a million* sterling a year. In other words that limited class of the Bombay population who can afford a superior sugar (chiefly those who live by exploitation, litigation, and domination, many of these being foreigners), get it purveyed for them like a luxury which has ceased to be procurable from indigenous resources and which must be conveyed from beyond the seas like an exotic delicacy. With regard to the exportation trade and its decline from the finer to the coarser sorts, a decline similar to what we have examined under cotton and silk, this uniformity of social retrogression, this invariable decay of every immemorial staple of Hindu industry, is a process which taken in connection with the actual condition of the people and not with the airy fictions of demand and supply, will be difficult for official optimists to reconcile with their alleged blessings of the English rule in India. Every industry at all delicate or complex, every handicraft at all superior to the plough or the mattock, has experienced the ruinous injustice of our fiscal handicapping in being required to render tribute to aliens and absentees, and yet to maintain an unequal struggle with those powerful and powerfully favoured capitalists who belong to the conqueror community. All the subsidiary industries sympathise alike under this universal suffering. While the native's loom and the native's mill are being reduced first to working short time and then to working no time at all, there remains but little scope for the native carpenter's plane or the native blacksmith's anvil. A consideration of this feature of India's industrial pathology will help to explain what at first sight seems so inexplicable, the comparative failure of the English skill and the private capital which

* A considerable quantity of this Gulf. Compare below on a similar Mauritius sugar only passes through Bombay on its way to the Persian transit trade of wool.

have been expended upon so many sugar works under seemingly the fairest promise of cheap labour and excellent soil. Certain of these factories still survive* at Shahjehanpore and Balli, at Kotchandpore and Aska, where "by their general effect they recall the sentiment of the historian, excite thankfulness in all thoughtful minds and hope in the breasts of all patriots." Some of their proprietors, despairing of success at sugar, have betaken themselves instead to making rum under the patronage of the Excise Department; and this too in a country where heretofore, from generation to generation, sobriety or rather abstinence has been inculcated by sage legislators and humane priests as a solemn duty of law and religion. The degeneracy from an industry of sugar to an industry of rum is melancholy, but it is not so degraded as that more extensive and systematic process by which the whole empire's exports of calicoes and muslins, corahs and bandannas, have been supplanted and replaced by a stupefying and brutalising drug.

Such, then, is the evil destiny which has overtaken the first home of cotton and sugar, those commodities which were faintly known to the Greeks and Romans by strange rumours from India about trees from whose leaves the natives combed wool like a fleece, and about other trees from whose leaves they gathered honey like the nightly dew. Look at the contrast between the beet root of France, at first sight so unpromising, and the succulent cane of Bengal, and you will have some idea of what capital and skill, if only let alone, can achieve (despite the prophecies of the political economist†) with an article apparently hopeless, and of how little avail is the most advantageous staple when it is subjected to an unfavourable *régime*. As it is, our present herding of coolies in droves from the Indian Ocean away to the Gulf of Mexico, our ganging of disemployed weavers and agricultural starvelings upon earth-work of canal or earth-work of railway, our *mobilising*

* The Annalist of Rural Bengal, while speaking of the English savings that have been wasted on tea failures in Bengal from sheer want of information about the country, and while advocating the deputation of officials on special duty of historiography, says that Englishmen have a right to information about Indian resources. For once I heartily concur with Dr. Hunter that there has been a lamentable waste of English savings upon such enterprises in India, and that henceforth Englishmen desirous of investing in India ought to have better information about Indian re-

sources. I shall only add, first, that the information ought to be accurate even if unpalatable; and, secondly, that whether accurate or not it is for the English capitalist not the Indian ryot to defray the cost of compiling it.

† Had the British flag never waved over the valley of the Ganges, Bengal sugar need not have been shut out from the French and the Continental market in those insane wars for commercial aggrandisement which led to the fostering of beetroot manufacture.

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of Indian labour as Dr. Hunter grandly names it, is this the vaunted triumph of the English peace (if peace there ever has been) throughout our Indian Empire?

Better war, loud war, by land and by sea,
War with a thousand battles and shaking a hundred thrones!

TEA has already been examined under the article COFFEE in connection with the plantation staple of India.

The last of the exports taken in alphabetical order is raw WOOL.

		Value.		Quantity.
		£		lbs.
1850-51	...	68,285	...	4,681,910
1870-71	...	670,647	...	19,432,838

The increase of tenfold in value and fourfold in quantity, like some other instances of increase which we have examined, seems so far to betoken rapid and assured prosperity in India. A closer examination will disclose, as usual, the futility of any such conclusion. For part of the increase merely represents the commercial influence of the Punjab annexation which had hardly begun to tell in the first of those twenty years which I have brought under review. The exportations of raw wool are almost solely from the harbours of Bombay and Scinde. Part of the increase therefore betokens the prosperity of sheep-owners who are not in the enjoyment of the alleged blessings of English rule at all, for a great part of the wool which figures as an Indian export really comes by sea or land from Beloochistan, Afghanistan, and Persia. It comes to India in order merely to be shipped for Europe from Kurrachee or Bombay, ports which from being already established centres of Indian exploitation and of the shipping connected therewith, are also convenient entrepôts for the more natural and healthy, if scanty, trade between these independent countries and Europe. Hence, if an Indian Finance Minister were to impose on raw wool any considerable transit or export duty by way of subjecting the thriving sheep-owners to a share in the incessant increase of Indian taxation, the foreign wool would very soon find another channel than Bombay or Kurrachee, and then a decline in our export returns of that staple would speedily disclose how little of the prosperity registered under exports of wool accrues really to natives of India. Indeed so far from Indian sheep having increased in number or improved in breed during these twenty years, it is a misfortune well known to the officials who with greater and greater difficulty have to procure the Commissariat mutton for the English regiments, it is a misfortune still better known to those natives who have to pay for that mutton, that all over India sheep have been becoming fewer in

numbers and poorer in quality.* This is but one phase of that progressive deterioration in live stock and growing crop which we have examined at some length in the last article. Other instances of this decline will be found in the increasing difficulty which is experienced now-a-days by our Commissariat Department in procuring bullocks and other baggage cattle, and by the Stud Department in replacing the Cavalry horses. These are subjects which will, perhaps, receive some attention from the Parliamentary Finance Committee while enquiring into the rise of military expenditure in India.†

In order to make my usual verification with regard to the raw staple of wool, I turn now to that of the manufactured article, and I find the usual decline. In more prosperous days than these the soft wools of Himalayan and sub-Himalayan pasturages on the Indus used to be made up into fabrics such as have never been rivalled even on the banks of the Rhone. Such were the shawls for home and for foreign purchasers which used to be woven in Umritsur and other towns of the Punjab from the delicate wools of Cashmere. But now under foreign influences which prove fatal to capital and to skill (and even to taste‡) these looms are being more and more condemned to inaction. I believe the present distress among the weavers in the Punjab is officially attributed to the shortened demand from France in consequence of the German war. But the truth is, this is but an incidental aggravation of what has been a long, uniform, and by no means fortuitous depression in all classes of Indian manufacture.

Ten years ago there was no little official requisitioning out here for subscriptions from the natives on behalf of disemployed artisans in Lancashire. It would task even the wealth of England to make a commensurate return to the corresponding classes of India. In India the distress of disemployment is not that of a single country nor of a single season : it is misery spread over an empire and extended over a century. But these are considerations which can

* Since the above was written, I have seen in the newspapers that Mr. Allan Hume of the Agricultural Department has been projecting sheep shows, and competitive exhibition prizes or some Holloway's Ointment or other as a remedy for this mutton difficulty.

† One of the official contributors to the Gazetteer of the Berars (Mr. Lyall, I think), is so much struck with the poverty and scantiness of indigenous horseflesh at the present time, that he is driven to doubt whether there could ever have been

Mahratta horsemen at all, at least from the Berars !

‡ Witness the flimsy and pretentious imitations of oriental stuffs in silk and cotton which have been supplanting the tasteful and durable but unequally handicapped materials of homespun in India and Burmah. I should not wonder if vulgar designs from Paisley are imposed upon the shawl looms of the Punjab. A similar degradation in designing and colouring has been taking place in China and Japan.

hardly be expected to receive due attention from a Government which over and over again has stooped to cater in picturesque gimcracks for the amusement of a few fashionable loungers about South Kensington. And yet the gradual crushing out of all the indigenous town industries of India is a subject well worthy of the notice of those who would understand why the urban, that is to say especially the Muhammadan, classes should be so disposed to disaffection.

It is not alone the finer classes of fabrics that suffer in this way. We have seen in silk how the brocading declined first, then the plain weaving, and last of all the simple winding. We have seen also a similar order of extirpation with cotton and sugar. In like manner with wool, the industry of the coarsest homespun succumbs in due course after that of the most delicate shawls. Some of my readers will remember how, a few years ago, during one of our many official enquiries instituted on behalf of Manchester manufacturers, some Hindus in a North-West district were reported to have been giving characteristic expression to their vexation at the dearth of country wool and at the scarcity of country-made woollens, by murmuring that these *Feringhis* must be again conspiring against caste and trying to compel the orthodox to defile themselves by wearing skins.

This finishes the subject of Indian export staples.

Continuing the dynamics of Indian trade with foreign countries, I pass now from the exports to the imports. The general nature of this latter branch of business has already been fully described under the statics, and I shall therefore summarise very briefly the successive modifications disclosed by a comparative view over a considerable period of time. Unfortunately, the Statistical Blue Books, bulky and cumbrous as they are, do not admit of a detailed comparison being carried farther back than twenty years.

CLASS.	ARTICLE.	VALUE IMPORTED, 1850-51.		VALUE IMPORTED, 1870-71.	
		£	£	£	£
Cotton	Cotton Twist and Yarn ...	1,039,329		3,400,002	
	„ Piece Goods ...	3,642,361	4,681,690	15,644,867	19,044,869
Metals	Machinery of all kinds ...	20,666		447,570	
	Railway Material & Stores	.....		1,466,068	
	Metals, manufactured, except Railway materials...	245,393		850,319	
	Metals, raw, except ditto	1,552,947	1,819,006	1,868,272	4,627,229
Liquor	Malt Liquors...	125,009		346,389	
	Spirits ...	159,496		405,381	
	Wines and Liqueurs ...	273,845	558,350	434,048	1,185,818
Silk & Wool	Silk, Raw ...	240,101		895,563	
	Silk Goods ...	111,554		425,527	
	Woollen „ ...	218,848	570,503	582,339	1,903,429
Salt & Sugar	Salt ...	666,333		715,892	
	Sugar, Sugarcandy and Loaf ...	.....	666,333	555,801	1,271,093
Other Articles.	.....	.....	3,262,906	.....	5,380,868
	GRAND TOTAL ...	.....	11,558,788	.....	33,413,906

The corresponding quantities, so far as they are shown in the Blue Book, are as follow. (For convenience in collating I repeat the figures of the values rendered.)

Goods.	QUANTITY IMPORTED.		VALUED AT	
	1850-51.	1870-71.	1850-51.	1870-71.
Cotton Twist and Yarn ... lbs.	.....*	40,387,059	£ 1,039,329	£ 3,400,002
Malt Liquors ... gals.	.....	1,642,137	125,009	346,389
Spirits ... "	381,579	619,485	169,496	405,381
Wines and Liqueurs ... "	383,273	490,835	273,845	434,043
Salt ... cwts.	1,398,093	4,552,207	666,333	715,892
Silk, Raw ... lbs.	1,259,974	2,328,854	240,101	895,563

* The earliest specification of quantity is under the year 1853-54, namely, 29,519,238 lbs., valued at £1,306,913.

The increase of Indian imports by threefold from 11 millions sterling to 33 millions sterling within the space of 20 years is one of the favourite modes of demonstrating the alleged prosperity of these populations under and because of British rule. But if these entries of so-called merchandise be examined as to their real nature and be verified also by the progressive condition of the populations concerned, one cannot but be shocked to think how profoundly incapable must be those officials who befool themselves with pedantic sophistry like this. As for the logic of such arguing it is like that of the petulant official who points to the Stock Exchange quotations of what is believed, whether correctly or incorrectly, to be substantially an English guaranteed security, and then claims these as a demonstration of the credit accorded to the unaided resources of British India.

What have been the real causes of these trebled imports of so-called merchandise in the twenty years after 1850?

The most important influences have been these:—

I.—POLITICAL. 1st, the annexation of the Punjab; which, in the year at which the tabular statement opens was only beginning to have commercial effect; 2nd, the "assignment" (quaintly so-called) of the Nizam's Berars; 3rd, the annexation of Pegu; 4th, the annexation of Oudh.

II.—FINANCIAL. 1st, the loading of the country with political mortgage in consequence of a series of deficits never once intermitted; 2nd, the loading of the country with railway mortgage in virtue of assurances which we have never fulfilled and which we can never expect to make good.

A very brief examination of the increased imports in their

details will serve to show how little their figures have to do with greater prosperity among the natives during the twenty years under review.

(1.) The advance under *cotton* from four millions sterling worth to 19 millions worth has been an advance in price more than in quantity. It is not so much that the natives have been enabled to buy more clothing or better clothing, but rather that they have had to pay more for what they did manage to procure. (See the tables of quantities and values just now cited). Such increase as there has been in the quantity of imported piece-goods mainly represents not increased consumption, but merely the displacement of the native manufacture, especially in the newly annexed territories. On this subject the reader is also referred to the heading COTTON (exports side) in the last article.

(2.) The increase under *metals* from £1,800,000 worth to £4,600,000 worth relates chiefly to railway works and forms simply the Custom House register of this deplorable waste which is now standing India in a dead loss of nearly two millions sterling a year, exclusive of interest upon the purchase-money, exclusive of the land bought up for the railways, exclusive of the current loss by exchange and of interest on the past losses by exchange, exclusive of these and of all the other subsidies from Government which are not brought on the capital accounts of the railways at all even when these subsidies are being most palpably defrayed out of debt.

(3.) The increase in the imports of *malt liquor* from £25,000 to £346,000 merely records the fact that so many native sepoys have been displaced by so many English soldiers; or in other words it records the exaction of a heavier taxation, of whose proceeds a less proportion than before finds its way back to the natives. The progress under *wines and liqueurs* from £273,000 worth to £434,000 worth bespeaks the greater amount of taxes that have been enforced from the natives and distributed as salary among the more numerous and the more highly paid officials in the newly annexed and in the older territories.

(4.) If the English residents have been enabled to increase their consumption of non-Indian *wine*, the natives on the other hand have been compelled to increase their consumption of non-Indian *salt*. It would be difficult to conceive a more extraordinary testimony of the enrichment of a country than that which is figured under this head, in the importation having increased from 1,398,000 cwts. in 1850-51 to 455,207 cwts. in 1870-71.* The

* The figures of values rendered under the earlier years of the table are evidently erroneous. They doubtless represent the declared value of the salt, including by mistake some moiety of the duty. The values rendered in the later years are meant to be exclusive of the duty.

process described in this nearly quadrupled importation of foreign salt is simply this, that in India the rock of the salt mine must more and more fall into disuse, that in India the heat of the sun and the brine of the sea must more and more lapse into idleness. And why? In order that an alien Government of Christian monotheists may have the fiscal convenience of recovering comfortably as a customs duty an impost of theirs ranging up to 2,600 per cent. on prime cost on a certain necessary of life which under our much maligned predecessors, the Muhammadan monotheists, was charged only $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. to Musalmans, and 5 per cent. to Hindus.

There is one instructive feature in this progressive displacement of an Indian product of universal consumption. If the proceeds of the dietary poll-tax had been spent within the country so as to be retained in circulation among the people from whom they were exacted, even this tremendous rate of duty would not have made the salt of India give way on its own home to a distant rival from Cheshire. But it is from the commercial taskmasters being absentees that India has been reduced to this miserable incident of commercial servitude. For, in the constant deportation of so much produce, cotton, grain, oil-seeds, &c., to England or to a customer of England, as a discharge of the tribute periodically falling due from India to her conquerors, the Liverpool shipowner has the amplest assurance of a homeward freight. Accordingly he makes an additional profit on the very ballast for the outward voyage, ballast of salt, ballast of coal, ballast of any commodity which has still a rival remaining to be supplanted out in India. Thus the very servitude of the country becomes the means of farther tightening the bondage. "A country which has to make compulsory payments to "foreign countries, besides losing what it pays, loses also something "more by the less advantageous terms on which it is forced to exchange its productions for foreign commodities. The "paying country has to give a higher price for all that it buys from "the receiving country, while the receiving country, besides "receiving the tribute, obtains the exportable produce of the tributary country at a lower price." Verily, the curse of the poor is their poverty.

Conversely, the boating craft of the rivers and the bullock-carts on the roads are coming to be employed mainly in carrying down raw produce from the interior to the seaports and in either returning empty or else bringing back a paltry freight of such wares like salt, clothing, or other last necessities of mere existence as will displace some country produce or manufacture from its own bazaars. On some rapid rivers (so inexorable are the conditions of taxation in the upper valleys), the boats never return at all but are broken up for firewood at the end of their one voyage. And

then a department of forest rangers is instituted to teach or compel the natives to conserve their timber ! A consideration of this one-sidedness of Indian trade (with the Mersey ships returning home full, and the Ganges boats returning all but empty) would throw considerable light on the portentous shortness of Indian Railway earnings. But such a range of foresight is certainly not to be expected from the men who actually dream that State Railways here can be made to pay by cheapening in transit some moiety of the cost of salt,—that cost which is made thus prodigious by the very necessity to defray the dead loss on such enterprises as these very railways themselves. This is very much as if the population of London were to be compelled to take their water from Dartmoor and to pay farther an *ad valorem* duty of many hundred per cent., were then to be invited to avail themselves of water tanks on the Great Western trains, and were also to be required to pay up the defective dividends of that Company's original stock, all by way of cheapening their water-supply ! Among the many charming episodes of the Godavery Works there are few more exquisite than Sir Richard Temple's suggestion that the Government steamers would contribute materially to defray their own cost, in that they would use up the jungle for fuel and so prepare the wilderness for human habitation !

Turning, however, from the authors to the victims of such misconduct, let each man commune seriously with his own conscience on the miseries which we are inflicting on others, and the self-contradictory perplexities which we are imposing on ourselves by a system of government flagrantly immoral in its origin and dangerously unsound in its constitution. "Behold, our hands are defiled with blood, and our fingers with iniquity. Our works are works of iniquity and the act of violence is in our hands. Our thoughts are thoughts of iniquity ; wasting and destruction are in our paths. The way of peace we know not, and there is no judgment in our goings ; we have made us crooked paths ; whosoever goeth therein shall not know peace. We wait for light, but behold obscurity ; for brightness, but we walk in darkness. We grope for the wall as the blind, and we grope as if we had no eyes : we stumble at noon-day as in the night ; we are in desolate places as dead men." Pressed and embarrassed by the remonstrances of Cholera Commissions on the continent of Europe we appoint sanitary officers out here to deal with the epidemic mortality of the native populations and especially to protect those sickly regiments of our own countrymen which are relegated to our fatal cantonments. But it is those very taxes of ours, taxes on crops, taxes on food, taxes on justice, taxes on every thing and every body (taxes even which we have to augment in order to pay these new doctors themselves), it is

those very taxes which help to breed the epidemics, for they leave to the multitudinous patients an insufficient fare of food, always coarse and innutritious and often seasoned with an earth-salt vilely impure. With their chloride of sodium hosts of human beings are compelled by us to swallow sulphate of soda and sulphate of magnesia. In other words we compel them to season their miserable diet of millet and pulse with a condiment which is largely made up of Glauber's salt and Epsom salt, and then we wonder why those jungly wretches should be so shockingly unhealthy. We practically compel the people to smuggle and then we exclaim against their demoralisation and proceed to raise farther police. We make it impossible for the people to economise their fish supply by salting and curing, and then we rail at their wastefulness and proceed to appoint an Inspector-General of fishermen. We perpetrate scandals with the right hand and then we employ the left to undo them. Nay we resemble rather that bashaw who, having eaten the peasants out of house and home, proceeded to charge them extra piastres for the wear and tear of his teeth.

Before closing this dynamical examination of Indian exports and before entering on the consideration of bullion currency and prices, I shall adduce one or two typical examples of those operations by which India is being systematically exploited for the sole benefit of English commerce.

There is a line of telegraph through Persia, called the Indo-European, which was constructed for the express purpose of ministering to Anglo-Indian trade and government. The cost of construction was not less than a million sterling, all of which was charged to India. Of course the usual Anglo-Indian prospect was put forth that the outlay would prove reproductive, and of course that prophecy has had the usual Anglo-Indian fulfilment. Why was not England required to contribute towards an enterprise of which her merchants and officials were to reap the whole or the bulk of the profits?

Again look at those commercial missions of recent years, as ridiculous in their results as they were objectionable in their projection. For example in 1868, a year of vast deficit, a costly official mission, including a delegate from the English Chamber of Commerce at Rangoon, was sent beyond the Irrawaddy to "*tup*" Eastern Burmah and Western China. Even now an *avant-courier* of British commerce paid out of Indian taxes continues to be located at Bhamé, far beyond our dominions, with extra-territorial jurisdiction, like a writer of a factory, and is keeping watch and ward over this aspiration of "*opening out*" the country. In 1870, a year of nitense distress culminating in terrible mortality, another official mission, including an English tea planter from Kangra, was equipped at the cost of the over-taxed Hindus, but in the interest mainly of

English cotton spinners in Lancashire and of English tea planters in the Himalayas, and it was sent to prospect for exports and imports beyond the Indus, over mountain passes higher than Mont Blanc and through a country which in one region extending over seven days' journey yielded "not a stick of fuel nor a blade of green grass." Even now an English official maintained at the inevitable cost of the Indian tax-payer continues to exercise far away in Ladakh a jurisdiction which in extra-territoriality resembles rather the function of a consul in the ancient age of theology and conquest, than that of a consul in the nascent *régime* of science and industry. Yet so little of "*a vent*" either for piece-goods or for tea or for any other commodity whatsoever was after all, to be found in those far regions of swampy cane brakes beyond the Irrawaddy, and of Alpine Saharas beyond the Indus, that the two missions had much ado to escape starvation. Before the start of the missions the most sanguine, but as the event proved, the most gratuitous assurances had been proclaimed about the welcome that was to be expected from the potentates and peoples beyond the frontier. Yet, in each case as the mission went forward there came back "the most damning reports" about "intrigues of chiefs," "villainous underhand procedure" and so on. When the costly official caravans did at last get back to our territory after effecting the most contemptible failures, some kind of propitiation had to be made to secure the "prestige" (always prestige) of the English in Asia and the extra-territorial rights of English Christians going forth among Paynims. Originally the friendly powers had been represented as eager to welcome the missions, but now they had to be moved to take action against certain satraps of theirs for slackness in obeying those requisitions for provender that had to be issued by our commercial travellers, for it appeared that without these somewhat uncommercial transactions no progress was possible, notwithstanding all the resources waiting to be "tapped" which had previously been ascribed to those regions.*

"The political order of its [the East India Company's] political service," said Burke, "is carried on upon a mercantile plan and 'mercantile principles. In fact the East India Company is a State in the disguise of a merchant. Its whole service is a system of public offices in the disguise of a counting-house. Accordingly the external order and series of the services, as I observed, is commercial; the principal, the inward, the real is almost entirely political."

When I consider all the company-mongering of the last twenty years at the expense of the natives of India; when I consider

* See the Parliamentary Papers on Mr. Commissioner Forsyth's mission Major Sladen's mission to Bharno, and to Yarkand.

the persistence in seeking, the success in obtaining, and the rigour in enforcing guarantees of interest, and subsidies of capital for railway schemes, for canal schemes, and for heaven knows what other schemes all ensuring a profit for the Christian promoters, but at the entire risk of the miserable heathens ; when I consider the pressure which the Anglo-Indian interests always can and often do bring to bear on the India Office in London ; when I think of the parliamentary influence wielded by the shareholding and fundholding mortgagees of Indian industry ; when I consider the scandalous indecency of members of the guaranteed directorates being allowed to audit and vote on substantially their own private personal concerns *ex parte* in the parliamentary tribunal : when I consider all these and other similar iniquities, I cannot but renew the comparison of Burke with only an inversion of the attitudes, I cannot but pronounce that the Government of India is a merchant in the disguise of a State, that its whole service is a system of counting-houses in the disguise of public offices.

JAMES GEDDES.

ERRATUM.—In the January number, page 164, 2nd paragraph, before “ Epidemic ” and “ Endemic ” read “ disease.”

ART. VII.—THE INDIAN WHEAT.

Official Classified and Descriptive Catalogue of the Contributions from India to the London Exhibition of 1862.

THE original native country of the Indian wheat has not been ascertained. Dr. Royle thinks that it is probably indigenous to Central Asia. There are some who think that wheat is a native of Asia and Africa. The highest limit to its cultivation in the southern slope of the Himalaya is 13,000 to 15,000 feet. Although the cultivation of wheat, which must have commenced on high land, has been gradually extended to the different parts of India, it grows best where the winter is intense. In the Rig Veda we meet with notices of cultivated and fertile land, water courses for the purposes of irrigation, and oxen forming "a team of four yoked together," which shows that ploughing in those days was deeper and performed in less time. Max Müller (in his "Chips," Vol. II.) says that "wheat was known under the name of 'sueta' meaning 'white.'" In the Ramayan mention is made of "the finest cakes of sifted wheat," and allusions to this grain are also to be found in the Agni, Brahma and other Puranas. Wheaten cakes and wheat have been discovered in the excavation of a Buddhist monastery in Sarnath.* It is therefore evident that the Brahmins and the Buddhists consumed the article. Although wheat was cultivated in India from remote times, we are inclined to think that the cultivation and consumption of barley were larger, because it does not exhaust the soil so much as wheat, yields more largely, and occupies less time on the field. For this reason barley is frequently mentioned in Hindu works. During the heroic age barley was likewise the principal food in Greece. In other ancient countries the cultivation of wheat was large and successful. Herodotus speaking of Chaldea says, "In grain it is so plentiful as to yield commonly two-hundredfold, and when the production is at the greatest, three-hundredfold. The blade of the wheat plant and of the barley is often four fingers in breadth." Theophrastus says that "in Babylon the wheat fields are mown twice and then fed off with beasts to keep down the luxuriance of the leaf; otherwise the plant does not run to ear. When this is done, the return in lands that are well cultivated is fiftyfold; while in those that are well farmed, it is a hundredfold."

In Egypt wheat was cultivated before the departure of the Israelites as stated in the Exodus. The wheat found in the tomb

* *Bengal Asiatic Journal* for 1854.

of the time of the Pharaohs, was sown in England and produced excellent nutritious crops. In Greece "bread was made of many other grains besides wheat and barley." Athens was the centre of commerce. It imported corn, as the quantity of wheat which was grown in Greece was not equal to its consumption. Plutarch in his *Morals* (Vol. III.) says, "Now barley is weaker than wheat, therefore it affords but little nourishment," and therefore "a fat and deep soil fruitful of wheat and a lean soil of barley." The Romans appear to have paid greater attention to agriculture. Pliny commenting on Virgil says,—“Wheat the later it is reaped, the better it lasts, the sooner it is reaped, the fairer the sample. Mommsen says, “their (Romans) husbandry was mainly occupied with the culture of the cereals. The usual grain was spelt* (far), but different kinds of pulse, roots and vegetables were cultivated. Possibly the Carthaginian planters in Sicily served as models to the oldest Roman landlords; but, perhaps, even the appearance of wheat in husbandry by the side of spelt, which Varro places about the period of the Decemvirs, was connected with that altered system of management.” In Rome barley given to military men was evidently considered a mark of punishment. Plutarch states that Marcellus finding that his army had suffered a defeat ordered that “barley instead of wheat” should be given to those who had turned their backs.

The cultivation of wheat in Great Britain was limited for several centuries, and its consumption during the middle ages was confined to the higher orders.

From the scattered notices of travellers and others it appears that the cultivation of wheat in India has been continued throughout.

Appolonius of Tyana, who came here about the first half of the Christian era notices “wheat stalks like reeds in a place fifteen days’ journey from the Ganges.” The *Periplus*, is not clear in saying :—“A small part of the Indies produces plenty of corn. The sea coast from Scinde to Guzerat produces abundance of corn. The port of Nelkunda imports corn only for the use of ship’s companies. The merchants don’t sell it.” In Renaudot’s *Ancient India and China* (9th century) we find the following notice :—“Rice is the most common food of the Indians who eat no wheat.”

Thomas in his *Military Memoirs* (1793-1801) speaking of the Punjab, states that “it produces in the greatest abundance sugar-cane, wheat, barley, &c.”

Under the Mogul Government the lands of Oude were divided into three classes :—

1st class giving	...	18 mds.	=	1,476lbs.
2nd „ „	...	12 „	=	984 „
3rd „ „	...	8 „ 35srs.	=	726 „

* Called also German Wheat.

averaging 12 maunds 38 seers, and the price was 12 dams a maund, or 90 seers a rupee. The average produce of wheat in India in the middle of the 17th century was 1,155 lbs. per acre. The Dewan Pusaund says that wheat grows well without irrigation on the Deher and Jheel land. It is "a rubees or winter crop sown in Kartic, reaped in Bysak, requires three ploughings: quantity of seed to be sown on a biggah is ten seers, the yield per biggah two to three maunds, and the extent of irrigation five or six times." Ancient India suffered from famines alluded to in the Ramayan and the relief was in charms and incantations. In the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries there were severe famines. Neither Jehangir nor Aurungzebe could alleviate the suffering of the people, although we believe they did all that their intellect could suggest. The years of succeeding severity and famine were 1733, 1744, 1752, 1770, 1783, 1787, 1790, 1803, 1813, 1819, 1826, 1833, 1837, 1861, and 1866. The famines of 1770, 1787, 1833 and 1865 affected Bengal.

In Akbar's time a rupee would buy 115 lbs, or 2 maunds 35 seers. The highest price at which it sold in Delhi from 1763 to 1835 was in 1783, when its price was six seers per rupee. In 1795-96 it sold at 70 seers per rupee; from 1820 to 1852 the prices fell from 25 to 37 seers, although 1839-40 was a period of scarcity. But from 1852 to 1870 the prices rose from 37 to 16 seers, which is clearly attributable to the famines of 1861 and 1866.

The policy of the Government when there was scarcity or famine was different in early times. On the 10th October 1791 an embargo was laid, and it was re-enacted on the 29th October 1792. On the 16th September 1803 the Government again prohibited the export of grain, and directed the re-landing of all grain on any vessel in the Hooghly or any other part of Bengal. On the 27th of the same month the Government advertised a bounty on the grain imported from Bengal to Benares, Allahabad, Cawnpore, or Futtyghur. On the 27th October 1803 the Government permitted the exportation of grain from Bengal to any British port. On the 27th June 1804, the Government advertised that it would give a bounty of Rs. 10 per 100 maunds on grain exported to Chittagong. On the 14th January 1804, the Government encouraged the exportation of rice from Bengal to Madras by offering the price of 110 pagodas for Madras Garces for cargo rice of good quality. We think it well to observe that the cargo rice as now understood means three-fourths rice and one-fourth paddy, which is made in Burmah but unknown to the Calcutta market. The cargo rice then must have meant uncleaned rice. On the 18th February 1760, the Government prohibited the export of grain except to Madras which was suffering from scarcity. On the 28th July 1761, the Government took steps to buy grain in the markets of Lukypoor, Kissen-gunge and Dacca.

On the 26th March 1787, Mr. Dexter established in Calcutta "a mill for grinding flour, being the first of the kind ever known in Bengal." We believe the number of persons in Bengal living on rice is larger than those living on wheat, but the extended cultivation of the latter and the facilities for making flour have led to the introduction of hand-made bread, constituting the chief evening meal in a large number of Bengali families. In Calcutta and contiguous places the hand-made bread eaten by the Bengalis is thinner and not so nutritious as the *chapatis* of the up-country Hindus. A late Governor-General while travelling up the country gladly took several *chapatis*, and His Excellency liked them so much that he lost no time in mentioning to his Aide-de-Camp that at breakfast he eat no less than four *chuprasis*!

In 1822 Morecroft brought to the notice of the Government the Hussoora wheat and the wheat of Ladak, which he thought might be cultivated in Great Britain and the Cape to advantage.

In 1837 Mr. Henry Kirke tried the celestial barley or Tartarian wheat in the Dhoon, where it succeeded. Each ear was found to contain 87 to 96 grains and "made a delicious flour." The Goorka sepoys found that it filled "their stomachs better than a seer of *atta* made from wheat." In Yule's edition of Marco Polo's Travels we find that the good wheat and the huskless barley which is like wheat are grown in Budakshan, Ladak, and the contiguous hill countries. The huskless barley is in reality not huskless, for "when ripe it bursts the husk." There are six varieties of this barley, and the kind sent to England as Tartarian wheat was one of the kinds of barley. In 1843 Mr Thomas Toanochy tried the Egyptian wheat in Bolundshahr, and although the weather was unfavourable "the ears were considered very fine and well grown," and the quality very superior, resembling the Gungagelly grown from Rajmahal to Patua and those imported into England from the Mediterranean and Odessa.

In the same year Colonel Ouseley grew some kinds of wheat in Hoshungabad; and the report on the Gungagelly and Dooda descriptions by the Agri-Horticultural Society of India was favourable.

In 1848, Mr. W. H. Smith of Bareilly sent several samples of wheat to the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India, out of which the Cabul wheat was considered the best and most suited for the English market.

In the same year Dr. Royle reported on the soft and hard wheats of the Nerbudda "as the finest specimens in the London market, and the soft wheat valued at from four to five and six shillings above the highest prices of the day. They weighed 64 lbs. to the bushel." J. James and Sons reported that "the soft Tessee wheat is certainly the most valuable, inasmuch that it would be

available for a miller's purposes in larger proportions without any mixture, the colour being specially excellent."

In 1847, Baboo Mutty Lall Seal came forward to get for the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India wheat seed from the Cape and Launceston or Sydney, and offered to distribute the quantity that might be placed in his hands in Behar and Upper India, with directions to conduct the experiments properly that fine and soft kinds might be largely grown. As no report was made by Baboo Mutty Lall Seal, it is difficult to trace what the results were, but from some of the above extracts, it will be evident that good wheat was being already grown in some parts of India. The wheat grown in several districts of Lower Bengal is of an inferior kind. Good wheat appears from Colgong to Upper India, and to the west in Guzerat and Scinde. In the North it is grown with barley. In the South the cultivation of the article is limited. In Madras the area for food grain is 20 millions, against four millions of acres for other products. Of the grain cultivated wheat forms an insignificant portion. In Mysore only 9,000 acres are devoted to the cultivation of this article. The cost of cultivation on chur lands is less as it requires no irrigation. In Bombay it is chiefly grown above the ghats in the Deccan, Kandeish, Carnatic, and Guzerat. Of the six varieties grown in Bombay, the Bukhshi and Davod give very superior flour. In 1843, the cost of the Broach wheat was estimated at Rs. 11-9-3 per biggah, or Rs. 23-2-6 per acre. The wheat was shipped to England. According to the Broker's report, it was similar to what was grown at Smyrna. It weighed 62 lbs. per bushel. The result of the shipment was, however, not encouraging.

In 1847, the question of importing Indian wheat was revived by the Court of Directors, and the attention of the Government was directed to the resources of the North-Western Provinces. Cawnpore then produced 2,841,712 maunds, giving eight maunds per Jurabee biggah, the whole of which was grown on the level plains or table lands. It was found that wherever watering was necessary, wheat was sown broadcast, and where irrigation was not required, it was sown in drills. The selling prices were 30 to 32 rupees for the best. In Goruckpore the quantity grown was 7,660,000 maunds, and the selling prices were 51 seers per rupee. This enquiry led to the collection of much statistical information as to the cost and yield per biggah, but the variations in its measurements in the different districts did not give the totals in comparative order. The Government has since adopted the plan of making all calculations according to the acre equal to three biggahs and eight chuckas. As to the yield of wheat in the North-Western Provinces, Captain Tuckett's 2,000 experiments give 1,046 lbs. per acre. The results of subsequent experi-

ments average 1,546 lbs. on irrigated, and 850 lbs. on dry lands. The average produce per acre in the Central Provinces in 1867-68 was 405 lbs., and in 1868-69 351 lbs. Mr. Grant estimates the average yield in the Nerbudda Valley at 492 lbs. per acre, the seed corn being 123 lbs. In Bombay it is about 1,200 lbs.

In the Punjab under the Sikh administration wheat sold at one rupee per maund in the large cities. During the early administration of the British Government the price came down considerably. Subsequently the price was higher than when famine raged in the North-Western Provinces. There has been a steady increase, which is accounted for by the increased demand and the opening out of new markets. In 1854-56 it was ascertained that of the whole population two-thirds were agriculturists, and of the spring crops wheat forms more than 60 per cent. The yield per acre is 1,394 lbs., or 17 maunds. In the North-Western Provinces the completion of the different irrigation works is supposed to have extended the area of the cultivation of the food articles, but from the returns of 1867-68 to 1869-70, the extension has been more in sugar and indigo than in wheat. Although the falling off in the cultivation of wheat was 214,333 acres, yet the wheat crop was three times larger than rice or barley crops; and was estimated at one-half of the other food crops. No enquiry has, we believe, been made as to the increase or decrease of the area of the wheat cultivation. While it continues dear and jowra and bajra are cheaper, the inference is that either the production has decreased or the consumption and export have increased. At one time the nett cultivation charge was taken at Rs. 17 per acre. In 1846-47 the average land tax was Rs. 1-12-11 per acre.

We shall now give the opinion of the judges on the Indian wheat submitted at the different Exhibitions. At the Great Exhibition of 1851 in London we do not observe that the Indian wheat was well spoken of, but the Victoria was considered the best, and so was the one grown in Spain, although this was not accessible. At the London Exhibition of 1862 several Indian samples were sent. The remarks of the judges are as follows:—"Four kinds of wheat are grown in Oude, called "Safeda," "Morilwah" (which is armless), "Samodhah," and "Latpia." The first two are the best kinds and they generally sell from 16 to 40 seers per rupee, according to the abundance of the season. The other two kinds are those most generally sown, and they sell for 18 to 45 seers per rupee. When the wheat crops are from four to six inches high, they are irrigated once, and then a second time when it begins to flower. It is grown on heavy soils, and generally near the banks of rivers. On the Sumbulpore wheat the judges say—"The flour made from it is excellent, as is the bread." On the Jubbulpore wheat they say—"This beautiful wheat is pro-

duced in the Jubbulpore, Nursingpore, and Hoshungabad districts all along the railway to Bombay." At the Exhibition held in Calcutta in 1864, the judges say—"The exhibition of wheat was very good and the best wheat came from Benares." In 1867 there was an Exhibition at Agra; the report of the jury was that "the show of wheat, barley and rice was particularly good," and that the best samples of wheat came from Hoshungabad, Furruckabad, and Etwah districts. In 1865 there was an Exhibition in the Central Provinces. The judges observe that "there were some first-rate samples of wheat, although they were not so numerous as might have been expected." The wheat of the Nerbudda Valley "was of the most superior kind.". At the Exhibition held in 1866 wheat was exhibited from eleven districts, but that from Hoshungabad was the best. At the Punjab Exhibition "there were twelve samples of the red, and sixty-two of the white." The Yasin from Kashmir "was remarkably good." Next to it was the Shahpur of "particularly fine grain."

The Indian wheat has a larger amount of nitrogenous matter, *viz.*, 13.42, than bajra, jowra, rice or ruggee. It yields the largest albumen, *viz.*, 14.67, and starch and oily matter 71.66. The percentage of gluten in the wheat of Europe averages 22.5, of Asia 21.6, of North America 21.3, of Africa 22, of South Africa 17.9, of Australia, 16 to 18. It is supposed that the Indian wheat "contains three times as much gluten as English wheat." The results of this enquiry by Professor Harris which we look for with much interest will establish the future of the Indian wheat.

The descriptions of wheat which generally sell in the Calcutta market are the Pegu or Benares, Dooda Gungajelly, Jumali, and Dooda Jumali. Gungajelly and Jumali of inferior qualities are grown in the low districts of Bengal where there is no intense cold.

The yield of flour from these kinds of wheat is as follows:—

Pegu about 30 seers of flour and 8 seers bran.

Dooda, 31 " " 7 "

Jumali, 27½ " " 9 "

Pegu and Dooda sometimes give 75 per cent. flour and 25 per cent. bran. There is no strength in the other kinds. Dooda is not equal to the Cape, Australian, or Trieste wheat. There is a loss of about 8 per cent. in cleaning Pegu and Dooda, and 10 per cent. in Jumali.

The Trieste is the best flour, and the difference in quality between the Trieste and Dooda is 50 per cent. The Cape stands next to Trieste. The Trieste costs 30 rupees per barrel of 194lbs., and the Cape 22 rupees. The cause of the inferiority of the Indian wheat is that it is not properly washed, dried and kiln-dried, nor is the flour properly ground and dressed. Gungajelly is not ground into flour, but is only used for soojee with Dooda or Jumali.

It does not appear from the list of exports to Great Britain that wheat or other grain was exported to that country in 1816.

Previous to 1823-24 the export of wheat to Great Britain was unimportant. In 1851-52 the total export of wheat from Calcutta was 2,57,153 maunds, but none to Great Britain. In 1855-56 the export to Great Britain was 4,99,496 maunds, and up to 1863 the export fell off. It is noteworthy that the export of Wheat and Rice to Great Britain increases whenever the food crops there are deficient.

The total export of wheat and of that to Great Britain from 1863-64 is as follows :—

	Total mds.	of which to Great Britain mds.
1863-64 ...	3,63,117	52,795
1864-65 ...	3,95,856	4,084
1865-66 ...	2,23,252	.....
1866-67 ...	98,086	.....
1867-68 ...	4,29,461	1,85,594
1868-69 ...	2,49,971	49,923
1869-70 ...	82,820	.....
1870-71 ...	4,51,629½	86,490
1871-72 ...	5,23,029	2,90,150

Wheat formerly was shipped to Mauritius and Bourbon, more specially when there was a failure of the crop at the Cape, but those two islands now receive regular supplies from Australia, the Gulf; and sometimes from Bombay and Kurrachee. The shipment of the Indian wheat to England at one time was not considered safe, because it was thought that it could not stand the long passage; although a shipment of wheat from Calcutta to Australia was made some years ago, and it was landed in good condition. This fact proves that if the wheat were carefully dried and stored after being reaped, it could stand a long passage. The shipment of wheat in sailing vessels to Great Britain has been with reference to its demand, and of late the Greek houses have been steadily shipping it to England; which accounts for the export in 1871-72 being the largest ever known since 1856-57, although it was in a great measure influenced by the deficient harvest in England. The question of the long passage does not however apply, as the opening of the Suez Canal and the regular employment of steamers and iron ships will bring wheat sooner to England. The prices here, however, have been high, and are as follows :—

	1868.	1869.	1870.
Seers per rupee.	Seers per rupee.	Seers per rupee.	
Central Provinces ...	14½	14	12½
Lower Bengal ...	22½	14½	14
N.-W. Provinces ...	22	13½	12
Punjab ...	20½	11½	15½
Oude ...	26	13½	18½

In Bengal the prices from April 1870 to March 1871 are as follows:—highest 9 and lowest 29 seers of 80 tolah weight per rupee. In the South Marhatta the price in 1870 was $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ per lb., while in 1852 the price was $1d.$

In 1870-71 the prices of wheat were higher in the North-Western Provinces, "owing to exports and indifferent autumnal seasons." In January 1870, wheat sold at Peshawur at Rs. 2-4, and in other places at Rs. 3-13 to Rs. 4-7 per maund.

The prices of wheat as given in the *Gazette of India* for the second-half of February 1873, are as follows:—

				Seers. C.		Seers. C.		per rupee.
				highest	lowest	highest	lowest	
Madras	...	19	districts	6	5	15	9	
Bombay	...	29	"	7	5	15	9	"
Bengal, Western	...	5	"	10	0	13	0	"
" Central	...	12	"	6	0	20	50	"
" Eastern	...	10	"	8	0	19	0	"
Behat	...	10	"	11	0	13	0	"
Orissa	...	3	"	12	0	15	75	"
Chota Nagpore	...	4	"	10	0	15	0	"
Assam and adjacent Hills	...	7	"	10	0	16	0	"
N.-W. Provinces	...	35	"	11	87	23	6	"
Punjab	...	32	"	14	81	23	32	"
Oudh	...	12	"	11	1	17	5	"
Central Provinces	...	19	"	11	2	49	0	"
Hyderabad Assigned	...	3	"	11	1	14	9	"
Mysore and Coorg	...	9	"	7	8	11	0	"
Rajpootana	...	10	"	11	75	17	50	"
Central India	...	4	"	11	50	18	75	"

The maximum and minimum rates given above clearly prove want of sufficient traffic between the different districts and the high price of the article generally. The seer in some places is as defined in Act XXXI. of 1871, and in some a seer of 80 tolahs.

The experiments of Mr. Halsey in the North-Western Provinces in 1871 are deserving of notice. They were two—one in Bundelkhund and one in Cawnpore. Of the wheat grown one weighed per bushel 64 lbs., against 63 lbs. in England, and the average yield of one was 20 bushels, against 33 in England.

The average yield of wheat per acre in the European countries ascertained some years ago is as follows:—

Ireland	...	26	bushels.
Do.	...	30 to 40	do. high farming.
England and Scotland	...	28	do.
Do.	...	44	do. high farming.
Belgium	...	21	do.
France	...	14	do.
Russia	...	17	do.
Silesia	...	10	do.
Austria	...	15 to 16	do.

The average weight of a bushel of good wheat is $58\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., yielding an average yield of flour of 13lbs.

The supply to Great Britain is estimated at the following proportions :—

United States	...	...	35 per cent.
Germany	...	...	20 "
Russia	...	...	17 "
France	...	...	12 "
Egypt	...	...	6 "
Other countries	...	...	10 "
Total			100 "

The average prices of wheat in England and Wales are as follows :—

			s.	d.	
1840-44	...	...	57	10	per quarter.
1845-49	...	...	54	0	"
1850-44	...	...	48	9	"
1845-59	...	...	57	8	"
1860-64	...	...	49	9	"
1865-69	...	...	53	9	"
1870	...	...	46	11	"
1871	...	...	56	8	"

We desire to urge on the Department of Agriculture the necessity of making close enquiries as to the growth and extension of the cultivation of this grain and other cereals. We need not point out that epidemic and endemic diseases arise from the use of diseased grain. The Government of India has already admitted the necessity of effecting improvements by introducing seeds of a "superior character." We sincerely hope that the Department of Agriculture will direct its best efforts to this desideratum. Our impression is that cotton has in some places supplanted wheat, and unless the price of cotton be low again, the agriculturists will not take to the cereals. We have very little doubt that in Lower Bengal jute and seeds have displaced rice to some extent ; and the high price of the latter compared with what it was twenty years ago can only be accounted for by larger local consumption and export or diminished production. The repeal of the export duty on wheat by the Viceroy on the 4th January 1873, will necessarily increase its export to the ports where it can be exported with profit. But will the prices admit of increased exportation unless they decline? Things must take their natural course. We must, however, not lose sight of some important facts. After the repeal of the corn laws the production of grain in Great Britain was larger. During the decade after 1851 the average growth of wheat was about three millions of quarters less. The average annual importation of wheat and flour was 8,296,000 quarters in 1871 against 5,030,000

quarters in 1861. The population of Great Britain was 31,610,000 in 1871 against 29,070,000 in 1861. The average price since the repeal of the corn laws may be taken at 53s. per quarter—which is 50 per cent. higher than the price which ruled during the first 27 years of the last century. The yield of wheat in all the wheat-exporting countries, according to the latest returns, is decreasing. In Prussia the yield is $2\frac{1}{2}$ to $3\frac{1}{2}$ instead of $5\frac{1}{2}$ quarters per acre. In America, Canada, Austria, Germany, and Spain “from one-half to one-third less than of England.” The prices of guano and other manures have risen 50 to 63 per cent. In England the guano required for an acre of wheat costs 40 shillings, and the soil of Great Britain for the food articles requires restoration, while the cultivation of the succulents can be carried on at much less cost. This state of things is on the whole favourable to the Indian wheat, but it must be laid down at a figure to ensure a ready and advantageous sale. We believe the descriptions of wheat exported to Europe from Calcutta are the Dooda and Gungajelly. Their present prices are Rs. 3-6 and Rs. 3-2 per bazar maund respectively. The charges here are about 13 and on the other side 6 per cent. Freights range as follow—*vid* Cape 55s. to 65s., *vid* Canal 60s. to 70s. per ton of 20 cwt. nett. The descriptions of wheat for sale in the Bombay markets are the Kurachee, Bausy, Pisi (from Jubbulpore), Kanthapota (from ditto), Ghaty (up-country), and Kundwa. Prices on the 4th March 1873 are Rs. 18 to Rs 38 per candy, or $25\frac{1}{2}$ to 26 Bombay maunds of 28lbs. each. Another matter deserving of the attention of the Department is the utilisation of the straw, which in this country is given to the cattle; while in England it is plaited and applied to various economic uses, *viz.*, making hats, bonnets, ornamental works, in which Madagascar, China, and Japan compete, and likewise establish an important branch of industry.

ART. IX.—A REPLY TO CAPTAIN OSBORN ON THE INDIAN POLICY OF POSITIVISM.*

(Independent Section.)

THERE are certain inaccuracies which I purpose to correct in Captain Osborn's criticism in the October number of the *Calcutta Review*.

He opens with the usual invective against the tyrannical and coercive nature of the whole Positive method. He is greatly in favour of something or other which he calls liberty, and he denounces as despotic priestcraft a system in which universal suffrage, plebiscites, the ballot, and the electioneering majorities of the hour are held in very little esteem. For he has a good deal in common with that American according to whom the earth revolves on her axis once in the twenty-four hours "sub-jack to the constitution of the U-nited States."

With regard to the arrogance thus complained of, there is just as much arrogance and no more in the principles of Positivism as there is in the theorems of mathematics. This or that particular man perceives and accepts them or he does not. But his assent does not constitute, his dissent does not invalidate, either the theorem or the system. For in this respect there is in neither case any scope for choice, for free will, for liberty of opinion, for right of private judgment, in short for that which Captain Osborn claims as individualism. But if the proposition that "two and two make four whether you choose it or no" is really tyrannical, then Positivism, of which mathematics forms the fundamental constituent, cannot be acquitted of that very same charge.

One does not *argue* with a man whether he will or will not assent to the binomial theorem. All that the mathematician will care for is that the terms of the proposition be not inaccurately quoted. In like manner I am to correct certain errors and supply certain omissions of Captain Osborn's in so far as they affect the Indian programme of Positivism. Those who care to pursue the subject further can do so to more advan-

[* In accordance with the intention expressed in our last number of freely giving a place in our pages to the independent expression of every phase of opinion, we publish the above reply to some recent criticisms in this *Review*. We trust, however, that our doing so will not be regarded as establishing a precedent; for it is obvious that we cannot often

undertake to publish answers to our critical articles, or to allow our pages to become the arena of political or religious controversy. Mr. Geddes' paper was written last November; but we were unable to insert it in our January number, partly for want of space, partly because it seemed only fair to give Captain Osborn an opportunity of reply.—EDITOR.]

tage by referring to Dr. Congreve's original pamphlet which forms the subject of the former criticism now under correction.

Captain Osborn strives to attune his audience for the particular matter in hand by a long overture of universal derision. If he finds the principles of Positivism to be so absolutely worthless he is certainly unwise in wasting any attention whatsoever upon them, and this is an inconsistency which naturally suggests a consciousness of weakness in his own cause. I shall select a specimen bar or two from the overture. "Poets are to write poetry only after a particular fashion, the very length of their poems and the structure of their verse having been given in detail by the illustrious Comte; science is hedged, in by certain Hercules' pillars—Comte having at some time or other passed into the unknown regions beyond and come back with the information that nothing of practical utility was to be found there; Metaphysics and Psychology are alike expelled; while all those feelings, hopes, aspirations, joys and sorrows which have sought for satisfaction in something more enduring than this transient life are labelled 'delusions' and strictly forbidden to the faithful. Lastly, no one is to emigrate from his own country to another or even apparently to leave his own home, unless he is prepared to identify himself absolutely with the new people among whom he goes, as such practices, &c."

All this would be very scathing were it not that it lacks the one thing needful,—truthfulness. Thus with regard to the fantastic limitations of poetry attributed to Comte, Captain Osborn is doubtless trusting to some imperfect fragment of a clause or sentence which having been disjoined from its context in a former quotation comes now to be doubly travestied at second hand in a fashion hitherto not uncommon with critics of the positive philosophy, but now-a-days becoming less and less effective.

It so happens that Comte in deprecating habits of random reading and irregular study, habits arising from inexperience and want of guidance, has recommended for his readers' special attention during the present and next generations a selection of certain standard works (150 volumes) in poetry, science, history and religion. The thirty volumes of poetry which have been especially recommended by the illustrious Comte include the works of every poet of the higher order from Homer to Goethe. They range from Pindar to Molière, from Virgil to Alfieri, from Dante to Byron, from Aristophanes to Milton. When Captain Osborn next tries the poetry fence against Positivism he will get on better if he decry Comte's toleration as being too extensive rather than his proscription as being too exclusive. He will make finer sport and "split the ears of the groundlings" if he fasten not on Comte's fastidiousness about rhythm but on that lax

latitudinarianism of his which could have comprehended the Prometheus Vincetus, the Heart of Mid-Lothian, and As You Like It in one and the same collection of *poetry*.

Then again "metaphysics and psychology are alike expelled." The fact is Comte did insist that metaphysics and the metaphysical method form a universal stage of transition which is necessarily undergone by every mind whatsoever while passing in one or more branches of thought from the theology of infancy to the positivism of mature age. What Comte did urge was that this intermediate stage of metaphysics should not be prolonged beyond what is absolutely necessary. Captain Osborn might as reasonably represent St. Paul as having expelled childhood from human life in saying, "When I was a child I thought as a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, but when I became 'a man, &c.'" With regard to psychology, Comte so far from denouncing the real objects of psychological study, has himself made the most signal contributions to science in this very department. But he did denounce and (as it is now generally admitted) with justice certain fantastic jargon about 'intuitive knowledge' and so forth, some remains of which still pass current under the august titles of psychology, ontology, &c., and in reality are of precisely the same order in scientific progress as the alchemists' theory of phlogiston.

With regard to those inaccuracies of Captain Osborn which I have just corrected they are not so much to be wondered at; because they are such as might naturally have arisen from a cursory perusal of fragmentary quotations and imperfect descriptions written even by men who have been very largely indebted to Comte's own labours for the considerable reputations which they themselves have won. At the same time it behoves one who ventures to criticise as Captain Osborn does, to be careful beforehand in verifying quotations and in acquainting himself with the original works and not to trust to secondhand information from any authors however exalted. But in regard to Captain Osborn's version of Dr. Congreve's observations on travel, emigration and commerce, there is not even this partial excuse. Dr. Congreve's words on these subjects are full, clear and explicit, and they will in no wise bear out Captain Osborn's account of them. How Dr. Congreve, if holding such preposterous opinions as Captain Osborn attributes to him, should have been deemed worthy of the slightest notice, is far from easy to make out.

Such, then, is the dust which Captain Osborn tries to raise at starting, if so be he may forestall a prejudice on the question of altruist principles as specially applied to Indian politics. Positivists so far from being put out by this kind of manœuvring only find in it the occasion for firmer confidence than before. They

know that the whole tendency of philosophic enquiry for the last forty years has been attesting the accuracy of perception and the soundness of judgment with which Comte set aside those pretended systems of metaphysics, psychology, and constitutionalism which he found in their heyday throughout the academies and the bureaux. Considering that the uniform experience of the past generation has confirmed his youthful forethought in each and all of these courses alike of speculation and action, it is not likely that his mature judgment will prove to have been mistaken on the far simpler phase which concerns this ephemeral empire of the English in India. The verification which already has been found successful throughout so much of the great circle's circumference is not likely now to fall short in this a diminutive segment.

Passing now from the overture to the body of the performance, I perceive that Captain Osborn professes to have been pleased to spare Dr. Congreve the exposure of a grievous blunder which the Captain claims to have discovered. This blunder, which is twice attributed to Dr. Congreve, consists in having according to the critic spoken of India as if it were inhabited by a single homogeneous people and so were even capable of possessing national independence at all. What is the actual fact? Dr. Congreve has most emphatically spoken of the populations of India as being heterogeneous in speech, in polity and in religion. Indeed according to Dr. Congreve, it is the one cardinal defect of our dominion that, so far from fusing the native populations with each other, much less with ourselves, we do but break up without reconstructing native society, and do but dissolve without replacing native belief. With ourselves in Europe, society has risen out of the military into the industrial condition of civilization. Therefore for us the season and the capacity for consolidating and civilising alien populations by warfare has long passed away, thanks to those Romans in ancient Europe who, unlike to the English in Asia, regarded the social incorporation of citizenship and not the commercial servitude of exploitation as the chief end of conquest. Officials and *littérateurs* may continue to put forth their anachronisms about a Roman mission of the English in India, but that kind of rhodomontade has been getting somewhat musty since the bluster of the Napoleons and Napoleonids about senates and plebiscites, about legions and eagles, the wooden eagles and the tame one.

Captain Osborn's canon of homogeneousness as the international franchise to qualify for independence is deserving of careful attention. For we hear a great deal about the race theory in these days when, as Comte says, any pretender can put on a cheap and easy show of scientific-like method if he glibly talk about races as in former days he would have talked about climates. With your fashionable Anglo-Indian, ethnical caste will

explain every social phenomenon given or assumed, from the Aryan distaste for opium to the Aryan taste for parliamentary municipalities. Nevertheless Captain Osborn's application of the race specific in this canon of his about homogeneousness leads to some most startling results. Homogeneousness? The population of Galway, where the author of a namby-pamby commentary on *Ecce Homo* has recently been ratifying the persecution of a Christian priesthood, are they homogeneous with the population whom Mr. Gladstone governs in South Kensington? How then according to Captain Osborn's test shall the population, of the United Kingdom pretend to national independence? But if Captain Osborn will not disdain a lesson from Positivism he may yet discover that homogeneousness among a population is after all a matter of degree, it is not *absolute* (in short, to repeat a term which Captain Osborn naturally objects to), it is but *relative*. On this subject of national homogeneousness in reference to India, the reader will find more at page 50 and other passages of Dr. Congreve's pamphlet under review.

Captain Osborn also makes one or two notable attempts to wield the arm of Positivism against itself. He quotes these words of Dr. Congreve about India and England: "In the present case "what we wish, what we aim at is, to bring to a close peaceably "and in the best possible way the, to us, acknowledged evil of "our supremacy over another country *equally with ourselves* "entitled to its national independence." Captain Osborn then proceeds as follows (the italics are ours):—"We will pass over "the blunder involved in India as inhabited by a single homogeneous people and as therefore so much as capable of possessing 'national independence.' We will confine ourselves to the "error involved in the word 'entitled.' There are only two "senses in which this word can be used in the present connection, "and Dr. Congreve can use it in neither without a flat contradiction of some of the fundamental tenets of Positivism. A nation may be said to be 'equally entitled' with ourselves to independence on the hypothesis that all peoples as such possess an *a priori* metaphysical 'right' to freedom, a meaning which Positivism would indignantly repudiate. We are then thrown back on "the other alternative,—the argument from experience, that only "those nations are entitled to their freedom which have the courage and the patriotism to preserve it."

Captain Osborn is as unfortunate in his travesty about Positivism and political rights as he is in that about Positivism and poetical rhythms. With regard to the first of his two dilemmas about "entitled," Positivists, unlike those Anglo-Indians who will abolish a popular language or create a municipal system by decree, are in the habit of contentedly using the words of common

speech. For Captain Osborn is quite mistaken when he represents Positivists as petulantly insisting on any absoluteness of intrinsic accuracy in words. (They leave that to the metaphysicians.) Without any disparagement to Galileo's discovery, they speak and always will speak of the sun rising and the sun setting, but when there is occasion to reason about these things they do consider it necessary to remember what that movement really is which is and always will be conveniently described by the popular terms sunrise and sunset. They have a prejudice against disposing of the subject in Captain Osborn's fashion by drawing up syllogisms about *rise* meaning *ascent* and *set* meaning *decline* and so forth. In like manner positivists will speak about *rights*, for example *the rights of belligerents* so shamefully transgressed by the English in 1857 and 1858, in which years not a few natives *did* have the courage and the patriotism to vindicate their freedom. But when there is occasion to reason strictly on the subject of rights, when as often happens with that word there is occasion to avoid wrangling about the definitions of a mere word, then positivists revert to the scientific point of view with the rights of men not less than with the rising of the sun. That point of view, alike moral and scientific, of the relations between man and man is this, that the only rational and the only serviceable standard of guidance for peoples as for individuals is not the rights which they claim from but the duties which they owe to each other. Accordingly Dr. Congreve in speaking of the natives' rights means not the rights of the natives as considered in Captain Osborn's fashion *absolutely* and by themselves, but of the natives as considered *relatively* (Captain Osborn's pet abhorrence again!) in relation to the other people of whom also he is speaking at the same time, namely the English. In other and more precise words what he means by the natives' rights, is our duties to the natives.

There remains only one more feature in Captain Osborn's criticism which is worth noticing. He heads his review with the title of a discourse delivered in 1872, with which has been reprinted as an appendix a pamphlet of 1857 that is referred to in the body of the discourse. He then directs an attack against a special proposal in the latter for an urgent emergency, without however thinking it proper to mention the dates. To have cited the dates and to have alluded to the situation under which this measure was recommended during a tremendous crisis fifteen years ago might have interfered with the Captain's attempt to be funny. To most men it would have seemed but reasonable to observe Dr. Congreve's own remarks of 1872 appended to his reprint of 1857 as follow (Note B. pp. 72, 74): "I reprint the pamphlet on India without any alteration. The point in it is the principle, and any details which might be changed are unimportant.

"In its substance I see nothing which I would wish to alter. *Nor is there any use in discussing at present methods by which its object, the abandonment of our Indian empire, might be safely brought about.* If there were once to prevail the conviction that such abandonment was desirable, it would be time to attend to the means. As there is no such general conviction, the immediate duty is to work at its formation. Others are, I am happy to believe, co-operating towards this end from other points of view, and events also are more or less rapidly tending in the same direction. Where a position is a radically unsound one, sooner or later it becomes untenable. A statesmanlike forethought has seldom been more needed than on this question, but our system of government is such as to hold out little hope of such forethought, so that apparently we shall drift on to the dangers with which our Indian connection is fraught without any attempt to obviate them, in the blind determination to hold what we have once got till we can hold it no longer. As for Ireland, so for India, the language is, 'We will not let the people go.' It is an old but dangerous position."

As Dr. Congreve says, the present is not the time to be settling the particular details of the general policy of withdrawal. Enough for the present that the general principle be secured. Thus, for example, it would be unprofitable as yet to be forestalling events and to be deliberating at which of the particular robberies of Lord Dalhousie restitution ought to be begun. It would be premature to be deciding in 1872 whether the work of reconstruction should begin, or whether it should end, at the historically dominant valley of the Ganges. When once a conviction prevails that our withdrawal is desirable, then will be the time for determining according to the circumstances of the situation, which shall be the particular steps and what the serial order of the steps.

And yet, taking on its merits that programme which, urged in 1857 in discharge of a conscientious feeling of duty with confessedly no expectation of its adoption, now calls forth Captain Osborn's ridicule in 1872, positivists will not shrink from sinking the element of time and accepting a comparison between those pretences at self-government now being inaugurated throughout India and the Positivist policy of veritable self-government recommended fifteen years ago. Positivists have not so misread history as to mistake for statesmanship that measure (for relieving an insolvent exchequer through the extension of an already oppressive taxation) whereby, under a disguise of financial decentralising, a few pretenders to statecraft are now thinking to screen or to even avert the incipient collapse. Positivists are not so ignorant of the past nor so blind to the present as not to estimate at their true value those various masquerades of self-government, rural and

urban, from the Road Cess Committees up to the *tulchan* * municipalities by which this country is being at once afflicted and degraded.

Positivists know that where there has not been an effectual incorporation, either political like that of the Cæsars, or social like that of the Charlemagnes, there cannot possibly be a healthy disintegration like that of the fiefs or that of the municipalities. They know that the rise of the free towns in Europe was the seasonable outcome from a long series of developments and came to pass at a period when, without a single enactment from any legislative council, the very latest vestige of hereditary caste was disappearing even from rural society in the final form of feudal primogeniture, and when urban society was being reconstituted on an industrial basis simultaneously with a wonderful progress in the textile and the other manufactures. Accordingly positivists on reading the official Indian palaver about decentralising and municipalising are not to be deceived, when in a society still mainly based upon caste and not even arrived at the transition of primogeniture, a few bureaucrats are pretending to set up exotic municipalities with the one hand, while in reality they are crushing out indigenous manufactures with the other. Positivists will as soon expect to see these doctrinaires succeed in setting up statues of ice at Fort William and Fort St. George. Positivists are of opinion that the political and social institutions really indigenous to India had better be allowed to develop in their own natural course. Or, if Captain Osborn will let me have the loan of his simile, Positivists while not thinking overmuch of the Dutch pattern or the English pattern of shrub clipping, while not greatly admiring the parliamentary tree of English constitutionalism as now docked with this Reform Act, now pruned with this Ballot knife, are not inclined to force the yew

* "Did the reader ever see or "fancy in his mind a tulchan? A "tulchan is, or rather was, for the "thing is long since obsolete, a calf- "skin stuffed into the rude similitude "of a calf,—similar enough to de- "ceive the imperfect perceptive or- "gans of a cow. At milking-time "the tulchan with head duly bent was "set as if to suck; the fond cow look- "ing round fancied that her calf was "busy and that all was right and so "gave her milk freely, which the "cunning maid was straining in "white abundance into her pail all "the while! The Scotch milkmaids "in those days cried 'Where is the "tulchan? Is the tulchan ready?'

"So of the Bishops. Scotch lairds "were eager enough to milk the "Church lands and tithes to get the "rents out of them freely, which was "not always easy. They were glad "to construct a FORM of Bishops to "please the King and Church and "make the milk come without dis- "turbance. The reader now knows "what a tulchan Bishop was. A "piece of mechanism constructed not "without difficulty in Parliament "and King's Council among the Scots, "and torn asunder afterwards with "dreadful clamour and scattered to "the four winds as soon as the cow "became awake to it." (Carlyle's *Cromwell*).

tree on an Indian soil and climate at all. Nor are they disposed to go lopping every now and then at the sickly exotic with the everlasting statutes and amending statutes so as to try and make it somewhat resemble the paragon of the English vestry.

If Positivists do not fear a comparison between their Indian programme of 1857 and these Indian poltrooneries of 1872, still less will they shrink from a comparison between the two contemporary policies of 1857,—between that policy of blood and iron which did actually obtain, and that other policy, alike wise and humane, by which this deplorable dominion might have been brought to an earlier close. As Captain Osborn has thought proper to withhold all mention of or allusion to these circumstances, however inseparable from the subject of his criticism, it remains for me to recall them to mind. I do so in the words of a Positivist manifesto which was placarded in 1859, and which I cite from page 600 of *Notice sur l'œuvre et sur la vie d'Auguste Comte par le docteur Robinet* :—

“The Thanksgiving ordered for May 1st, 1859.

“Believing the cause of the English in India to be unjust, that of the Hindoos just, as the legitimate effort of a nation to shake off an oppressive foreign yoke; believing, consequently, the English success to be the triumph of force over right:

“Considering, secondly, that even had our cause been just, it has been disgraced at home by fraudulent misrepresentations, by the exhibition of a ferocious spirit of vengeance, and disgraced in India by atrocious cruelties, that we have been demoralised ourselves and lowered in the eyes of all nations:

“Considering, lastly, that the English victory is but the source of many evils to us as a nation, involving a further pressure on the already overtaxed and suffering poor of this country, and the sacrifice of the lives of English soldiers drawn from the same class:

“I hereby do all that is in my power as a private Englishman to clear myself and induce others to reflect:

“In the name of Humanity, I publicly protest against the Thanksgiving of the 1st of May, as an act at variance with our national professions as a free people, repugnant to the spirit of the Christianity which the nation yet recognises, and an outrage upon the higher feelings of mankind.”

Richard Congreve.

*South Fields, Wandsworth; }
April 19, 1859.*

JAMES GEDDES.

[REPLY TO MR. GEDDES.—The Editor of the *Calcutta Review* has courteously allowed me to say what I can to clear myself of the charges brought against me by Mr. Geddes; and I gladly avail myself of the permission. Into the general questions raised by Mr. Geddes, as to the durability and morality of the British Empire in India, I need not enter. It is Mr. Geddes' misfortune to believe that nearly every one who is not a Positivist, is either a knave or a fool—a "pretentious optimist" or a "Christian-ruffian"—or failing these a "driveller," of which I find from his other writings there are two kinds—"the sleek" and "the rhetorical." This classification of humanity naturally engenders a jaundiced view, not only of our Indian Empire, but of our planet in general. It is to him all one chaos of lies and hypocrisies, save here and there, where a solitary Positivist sends "far into the bosom of dim night a glimmering dawn." The merits, also, of Positivism I will leave untouched. It would be a waste of time to argue with Mr. Geddes on such a subject. Indeed, he frankly says that he "would not condescend to argue" with a man, who having accepted the binomial theorem, does not see that he is logically committed to the belief that forty thousand bankers ought to govern the world, and a man should worship his mother, either "subjective" or "objective." Now, I candidly confess that my logical insight is far too dim to trace the connection here between the premises and the conclusion, and I must be content to bear Mr. Geddes' enlightened scorn, with what patience I may. But Mr. Geddes accuses me of various literary sins, and these I will try to clear myself of.

First.—He says that Comte, so far from being illiberal to his followers in respect of the poetry he permitted them to read, actually selected for their use thirty volumes, and he trusts that when I know this, I shall accuse Comte of having been rather over generous than unduly restrictive. It will startle Mr. Geddes, but thirty volumes of poetry appear to me a very small and insufficient quantity, when we consider the untold treasures of that kind that exist in the world. And when I remember that Comte actually proposed that a general holocaust should be made of all the books not included in his 150 volumes of prose and verse, I am lost in amazement at the combined arrogance and folly of that philosopher. But Mr. Geddes is mistaken if he supposes that Comte has not laid down very precise rules for the composition of all works of importance both prose and poetry. Among his later aberrations was a superstitious veneration for the two primary numbers 7 and 13, and all works of importance were to be constructed with reference to them. Great poems, he held, ought to consist of thirteen cantos; the introduction and conclusion of a great poem should comprehend six of these thirteen cantos, leaving the cabalistical number seven for

the body of the poem. He also laid down a rule that each section of a canto should begin with a letter of the alphabet, determined beforehand, the letters being selected so as to compose words having "a synthetic or sympathetic signification." I have not the least idea what this means, but the fact is so.

Mr. Geddes' next charge against me is, that "Comte so far from denouncing the real objects of psychological study, has himself made the most signal contributions to science in this very department." This is partially true, partially incorrect. Comte's law of the three states, so far as it is anything, is an interpretation of consciousness, and therefore a contribution to psychology. But Comte, like all the writers of his school with whom I am acquainted, is continually running counter to his own doctrines, and it is notorious that he denied the validity of psychology, as a method of investigation. This has been pointed out by Mill, Herbert Spencer, and Martineau, and is reluctantly admitted by such thoroughgoing admirers as Mr. G. H. Lewes and Mr. Brydges. Comte's dictum regarding psychology is familiar to most students of philosophy. He held that the human mind is debarred by what he called "an invincible necessity" from any profitable introspection, because here the organ *observed* and the organ *observing* are one and the same thing, and it is impossible for the thinking individual to divide himself in two.

Mr. Geddes seems to admit that "metaphysics" are to form no part of Positivist studies, so I need waste no time in proving this to be the case by extracts from the *Philosophie Politique*. Mr. Geddes' third charge is that I have wilfully misrepresented Dr. Congreve's observations on travel, emigration and commerce, but as he does not state in what manner I have done so, it is impossible for me to rebut this accusation. I certainly gave no other account of them than what I believed to be a correct one.

Mr. Geddes is then angry with me for not having understood that when Dr. Congreve spoke of "the rights" of the natives, he meant "our duties" towards them, and he affirms vehemently that Dr. Congreve did so in obedience to the exigencies of popular language,—that people in fact, always speak of "rights" when they mean "duties." I can assure Mr. Geddes that I was quite unaware of this singular practice, and even now I feel doubtful if it exists anywhere except in the brains of a few Positivists, who are more wholly possessed with hallucinations of all kinds than any other people I have ever seen or heard of.

Mr. Geddes then tries to make out that Dr. Congreve's ridiculous proposals about the Sultan of Turkey and the "eminent Brahmin" were intended only for 1857, not for 1872; but I do not see that he makes this out. Dr. Congreve speaking of his

pamphlet says, "in its substance I see nothing I would wish to alter." Of course it may be argued that these particular proposals did not constitute the "substance" of the pamphlet. I can only say that if you take them away there seems to me to be nothing left at all. I certainly understood Dr. Congreve to mean that he stood by his old proposals, though he did not at the present time think it expedient to discuss them. At any rate, had he been aware of their unspeakable absurdity he would hardly have reproduced them after they had passed out of the memory of all men.

At this point Mr. Geddes leaves me, and passes to the more congenial task of abusing the world in general; and the English in India in particular. Here I do not propose to follow him; though I cannot refrain from expressing my wonder that Mr. Geddes does not separate himself from the unclean thing without further delay. If he finds it impossible to do so, and if he finds, as I suppose he must, that the fact of this impossibility quiets the stings of conscience, why is he always maligning and reviling other people for not doing that which he will not do himself? England cannot abandon India even if she wanted to do so; and there is an end of the matter. Life is too short to be wasted in discussing the propriety of achieving the impossible. Not that I hold that it would be for the advantage of either people that she should do so. I leave such opinions to the followers of M. Comte, who ought, I think, to fit out another Argo, and try to discover the kingdom of Laputa. They and their ideas would find congenial society there.

R. D. OSBORN.]

CRITICAL NOTICES.

1. VERNACULAR LITERATURE.

Ratnavediká Nátaka. By Probodh Chandra Chattopádhya. Calcutta: G. P. Roy and Co's Press. 1279.

GAJAPATI RAY, the Rajah of Guzerat, had stolen away Ratnavediká, the daughter of the Rajah of Concan, by tampering with a servant-maid, to marry her to his ugly son. Now, this prince had long been suffering from consumption, and fell a victim to his dire disease just on the eve of his marriage. The childless Rajah now seeing no other means of justifying himself in keeping Ratnavediká in his house any longer, took a fancy to her, and determined to make her his consort. One evening, seeing Ratnavediká alone in the garden, he began to make overtures to her; but his addresses were received very coldly on the part of the virtuous maid. Unwilling to be baffled he was proceeding to questionable lengths, when he was hindered in his attempts by a severe and unexpected reprimand from some one without. The princess seized this opportunity to make her escape through a narrow pass leading to a temple of Siva; and while doing so, encountered a handsome looking youth who turned out to be her unknown deliverer, and *instantly* fell in love with him, though she had not then even a glimpse of his face, on account of the darkness which enveloped the face of things. The youth was then seized and doomed to pay for his crime with his life; but the sentence was mitigated at the kind intercession of the Vazír, and commuted to an imprisonment for a year. No sooner was he lodged in prison, than the daughter of the King, having nothing else to do, fell in love with him, and became instrumental in effecting his escape. In the meantime Ratnavediká's father, incensed at the insult offered him, declared war against Gajapati Ráy, defeated his armies, and laid siege to his capital. By the wise counsels of the minister, a treaty was concluded between the two monarchs; but when the Rajah of Concan demanded the restoration of his daughter, Ratnavediká was nowhere to be seen. She had fled from the town, but meeting with unknown dangers near the banks of the Narmadá (Nerbaddah), began crying aloud and cursing her malicious stars. Fortunately, her dear youth was near at hand to lend her his assistance. Then took place a scene which had neither rhyme nor reason in it; but which ended happily in a complete avowal of their mutual loves. Just at this moment, the King of Concan came in search of his daughter, sword in hand,

and demanded of the youth an access to the adjacent cave where the princess had taken shelter; but the youth having refused, a fierce combat ensued, in which the monarch was severely wounded, and fell to the ground with the exclamation, "Alas, my daughter!" This discovered his person to the princess who began forthwith to rend the skies with her piercing shrieks of woe. The wound not proving fatal, the monarch recovered soon afterwards, and as a reward to the youth for his heroic defence of Ratnavediká, consented to give her to him in marriage. Gajapati Ráy objected to the proposal, on the ground of the youth being of unknown origin, but the inquiries that were instituted for that purpose ended in his turning out to be the long-lost son of the minister of Gajapati Ráy. This minister again was the real owner of the kingdom, but had by the force of adverse circumstances been obliged to accept the humbler post of premier. The nuptials were celebrated with great pomp, and Gajapati, unable any longer to suffer the pangs which his conscience was inflicting on him for his illegal usurpation of the kingdom, made it over to the youth and went to the forest. Amidst these scenes of exultation, the daughter of Gajapati Ráy, who had hopelessly fallen in love with the youth, seeing him lost to her for ever, prematurely put an end to her existence.

This in plain words is the story contained in the book. But the perusal of the works of the ancient Indian, Grecian, and Roman dramatists, and of Shakespeare and Goethe in modern times, has given other notions of a play than a series of dialogues divided into acts and scenes, and interrupted only by *exits* and *entrances*. No doubt some ultraradicals among the Bengali dramatists may denounce us as the "nurse-children of a severe optimism;" but for all that, the dictum of the Stagyræite, that "the drama must have a beginning, a middle and an end, and that the several incidents must all tend to hasten and enhance the catastrophe," has maintained its ground firm, against all the adverse criticisms which have been directed against it in all successive ages, and the truth of it is now, we believe, recognised by all reasonable art critics. The book before us is deficient in all the characteristics of a drama. Its tragic scenes move no tears, nor do the comic ones any laughter; indeed we can scarcely make out whether it is a tragedy, or a comedy, or a *tragi-comedy*. Love at first sight is now so hopelessly obsolete, that scarcely any modern reader feels any interest in it. But our author, if he has failed in this and other points in the execution of his work, has certainly succeeded in sketching the character of the servant maid, and showing what amount of wickedness women of the low classes in India are prone to, when incited to it by gold.

Bīrāvālī Kāvya. By Rājā Upendranārāyan Rāy Chaudhuri.
Calcutta: New Indian Press. Samvat 1928.

SOME critics assert that when a poet takes the story of his poem from some other works, and adds the graces of his own genius only to embellish it, half his credit ought to be subtracted. But these critics ought to consider that it is no very difficult matter for that poet to spin out a story, who is fortunate enough to extort a favourable verdict from the tribunal of criticism, by the melody of his versification and the sweetness of his diction, his beautiful imageries and his natural descriptions. Is Chaucer less a poet, because he borrowed his "Knights Tale" from the *Theseida* of Boccaccio? Or is Shakespeare less original, because the plot of almost all his non-historical tragedies and comedies can be traced to some ancient tale? Here is a poem that takes all its topics from some of the celebrated scenes of the *Rāmāyana* and the *Mahābhārata*; but here though the reading public can, almost all of them, fully anticipate what the author has to say, they will no doubt be pleasantly disappointed, to find that the author has appareled his stories in quite a different garb from that of Vālmiki or Vyāsa.

Some among these borrowed topics are "The Friendship of Rāma and Sugriva," "The letter of Rāvana to Rāma," "The death of Karna," "The efforts of Jatāya for the rescue of Sitā," &c. Splendid passages there are many; and the similes, with which the poem abounds, are for the most part very apt ones. The sorrow of Arjuna at the death of his son is truly pathetic, but the heroic scenes seem to breathe a spirit of timidity—the characteristic of a Bengālī warrior—to which a harsher name even may be applied.

But philological criticism can hardly fail to discover some blemishes in this book, which it would be unfair to pass over. The author has made use of many words which can scarcely be justified by reputable or national usage. The strange distortion of some, and the unnecessary amplification of others, present such an unnatural appearance, when placed side by side with the *sesquipedalia verba* of Sanskrit extraction, that the student of language seems at a loss to make out whether these disguised words belong to the Aryan or the Allophylian families of speech. True, the variety of dialects may collectively form a greater number of authorities than national usage can boast; but taken singly they are few—and those, to use Campbell's apposite similitude, who deviate from the beaten road may be incomparably more numerous than those who travel in it, yet into whatever number of by-paths the former may be divided, there may not be found in any one of these tracks so many as travel in the king's highway. "The province of criticism," says Dr. Crombie, "is not only to remonstrate against the introduction of any word or phraseology, which may be either unnecessary or contrary to analogy, but also to extrude whatever is repreh-

sible, though in general use." It is by this exercise of her prerogative that languages are gradually refined and improved; and were this denied, language would soon become stationary, or more probably would hasten to decline. In exercising this authority, she can not pretend to degrade instantly any phraseology, which she may deem objectionable; but she may, by repeated remonstrances, gradually effect its dismissal. One of the chief causes of a book being prized by foreigners, apart from its intrinsic merits, is its intelligibility. Michael Madhu Sudan Datta, though incontestably the best of the Bengali poets of the present day, is not much read by foreigners simply on account of his corrupt and unjustifiable terminology. But our author, who has imitated Mr. Datta very closely, and has even borrowed whole lines from his works, has not proceeded to such lengths as his original in this work of dilapidation. On the whole he has shown considerable power in the poem under review; and should he go on exercising his powers, we doubt not that he may some day or other prove no inconsiderable rival to the popular poets of the day.

2.—GENERAL LITERATURE

Essays on Eastern Questions. By W. G. Palgrave, Author of "Central and Eastern Arabia." London: Macmillan and Co. 1872.

MR. PALGRAVE possesses many qualifications necessary for a writer on Muhammadan subjects. Hitherto with few exceptions English Orientalists have been men without much breadth of culture or philosophical training, who have become authors rather by the force of circumstance than any inner compulsion. They have had the antiquarian rather than the historical spirit. The creation of the antiquarian we hold to be a very striking illustration of the beneficent arrangements of Providence in the constitution of the universe—his work is so essential to a right understanding of the Past, and yet to most people so intensely repulsive. The exact site of Cæsar's camp at a particular crisis—the exact distance from one half-forgotten locality to another half forgotten locality—the precise spot in which a certain man was buried—the precise number of men that were collected on a certain spot on a certain occasion—it is from the accumulation of a multitude of such isolated and seemingly trifling facts that it is possible to deduce the general laws of human action—the great currents of thought and feeling that underlie the vicissitudes of history. Without them no verification would be possible; and yet it may be accepted as a fact to which there are rare or no exceptions that the men who are capable of discern-

ing these general laws would never submit to the drudgery requisite to collect the innumerable trifling details on which they depend. At this conjuncture a beneficent Providence steps in and creates the antiquarian,—a hewer of wood, and a drawer of water who takes a pride and finds a glory in his work. His mind is so constituted that he cares nothing for general laws, for broad sweeps of observation over centuries of history. The small and the particular are his chosen spheres of action. The antiquarian, according to the idea, should be a man destitute of imagination and careless of the graces of style. Both these capabilities are apt to interpose a distorting haze between him and the hard concrete fact it is his mission to bring before the world ; while his distinguishing characteristics ought to be a repulsive dryness, a grim matter of factness, an insensibility to proportion which causes the “infinitely little” to appear a thing of quite surpassing importance. Now, this order of being is, perhaps, nowhere to be found in such great perfection as among English Orientalists. Except by a historian in search of details it is quite impossible to read anything they write. This is just as it should be. But unhappily for “the general reader”—that greedy and omnivorous being,—England has hitherto only produced this type of Orientalist. The Oriental Antiquarian we have in great perfection ; the oriental historian is still to come. The consequence is that though we rule over thirty millions of Muhammadaus, though our interests are intertangled at numerous points of contact with those of Islam, we have not a single English work which gives an intelligible account of the growth of Muhammadanism, and the nature of the forces, social, moral, and political that made it what it has been and what it is. Gibbon's chapters in the *Decline and Fall*, which treat of the Prophet and his successors are the nearest approach to such a work, but they are sneering and superficial, composed of the slenderest material and giving no insight to the secret springs of action. Vambéry's *History of Bokhara* will do something towards filling up this void, but the writer is not an Englishman and his work cannot be brought to our credit. There was one Englishman—Claudius James Rich—who, had he lived, might, perhaps, have produced a history of the Muhammadan period which would have left nothing to desire. He was a member of the Bomlay Civil Service, and for many years Resident at Baghdad. He had a perfect knowledge of Persian and Arabic ; he was, according to the testimony of all who knew him, endowed with remarkable mental powers, and during his stay at Baghdad he made a collection of books and manuscripts illustrating the history of Islam of quite unequalled value, and which are at present deposited in the British Museum. But he was carried off by cholera, at the early age of

thirty-three, in the year 1821, and no one has since appeared to make good his loss.

Mr. Gifford Palgrave might do something. He has lived long in the East; is familiar with the natives, their habits and ways of thought; and speaks Arabic with as much ease and fluency as his own language. He is, moreover, a man of culture and imagination, gifted with a free flowing and picturesque style, and apparently well read in oriental history. Unhappily he has one defect which goes far to mar all these excellent qualities. He is deeply tainted with the vice of sensationalism—that curse on modern historical treatises. History now-a-days, must not be only truthful and instructive; it must, as the saying goes, be “as interesting as a romance” or the public will have none of it. Consequently histories are produced which do their best to combine the dignity of philosophy with the startling effects of the latest novel. Carlyle is, perhaps, the first author who suggested the possibility of effecting this change. Macaulay, it is true, was held at one time to be specially great in portrait painting, but his pictures did not in reality present the image of any man whatever. They were all painted after one model, in startling and violent contrasts of light and shade like the alternate blacks and whites of a chess-board. Every notable man who had left his mark upon history was introduced to the reader as the strangest compound of the best and worst qualities, which, seemingly, acted in perfect independence of each other. This was very soon discovered to be nothing but the trick of a brilliant *littérateur*, and raised up few imitators. But Carlyle is a man of most subtle and original genius. A reaction from the cold *unhuman* style of writing history in the eighteenth century drove him to the opposite extreme of finding the solution of everything in the individual action of “heroes” and crediting nothing to the general tendencies of an age. “History,” to quote the words of an eminent American critic, “in the true sense, he does not and cannot write, for he looks on mankind as a herd, without volition, and without moral force: but such vivid pictures of events, such living conceptions of character, we find nowhere else in prose. The figures of most historians seem like dolls stuffed with bran, whose whole substance runs out through any hole that criticism may tear in them; but Carlyle’s are so real in comparison that, if you prick them, they bleed.” This verdict, we think, would be accepted almost everywhere as a just one. The “heroical” interpretation of history, notwithstanding the menacing earnestness, and great genius of its preacher, is generally felt to be an inadequate one; but it has created a taste which grudges if it be not satisfied. “The general reader”—that vague but exacting entity—having once read the march of the women to Versailles” or the vivid delineations of

Fontenoy and Dettingen, or the quarrels between Frederick and Voltaire, is highly discontented if all historical nutriment is not administered to him in the same highly spiced and stimulating form. But together with this word-painting he demands also a due modicum of philosophy. He likes to have "the spirit of the age" summed up in a few brief paragraphs, as having been this or that; this saves trouble, and prevents the mind distressing itself with unmanageable details. Just as Carlyle represents one extreme of historical thought, Comte may be said to stand at the other—that, namely, which leaves no place for individual action, but sees in all history only a process of evolution from one state to another, and which sets down individual volition as a phantasm of the imagination. Comte, however, notwithstanding the remarkable fury and clamorous rhetoric of his disciples, is rapidly passing into the obscurity and indifference which his merits deserve; but he like Carlyle, has aided powerfully in creating a taste. "The general reader" demands a philosophy of history though not prepared to accept as final the "law of the three states." The truth, he believes, lies somewhere midway between Carlyle and Comte, and few will deny that "the general reader"—who is a sagacious creature at bottom—has arrived at a sound conclusion. The consequence is that all producers of popular literature are adapting themselves to his tastes; and popular history may be summed up as "a series of states" interspersed here and there with a vividly drawn "hero" to give it a human interest. Mr. Gifford Palgrave is undoubtedly a popular writer and deserves to be so; and he conjures with these two instruments with great skill and success. The results, however, are not quite satisfactory. They fail to inspire confidence. We do not wish to depreciate his abilities, but the conditions under which oriental history has to be written do not allow, except to a very limited extent, of either portrait painting or sweeping generalisations; and consequently when we find an author indulging largely in both, we are tempted to fear that he draws upon his imagination for his facts. Thus, by way of example, the principal essays in the volume before us, are devoted to showing that there is a grand Muhammadan "Revival" going on through the regions of Islam, "a world movement, an epochal phenomenon that we can no more check or retard than we can hinder the tide from swelling in the English Channel when it has risen in the Atlantic." This Revival Mr. Palgrave considers to be a very serious business, vaguely hinting at a coming time, not very far off, when Christendom will be again assaulted by countless armies of Muhammadans, every individual of which will be the subject of an invincible religious enthusiasm. He does not say this in so many words; like the gloomy gamekeeper on the probable consequences of Mr. Winkle being entrusted with a gun, he only hints at it in

a dark way, which is exceedingly terrifying to those who have no means of testing what he says. And as a matter of fact, his vaticinations have produced a very considerable sensation in England. But a moment's consideration is sufficient to convince a reflecting man that a sweeping statement of this kind is no better than pure guesswork. Take even a European country with all its facilities of communication, with its newspaper and periodical press, with its various modes of discussing all political and social questions, remember that even with all these aids it is simply impossible to lay down with confidence what is the general feeling on any one subject whatever, and then transfer in imagination the scene to the East. Any general conclusions which a European draws regarding Eastern feeling must be the results of personal intercourse. Apart from this there is no medium of knowledge. The inhabitants, moreover, of each district can speak only for themselves; intercommunication beyond a certain small distance is so dangerous and difficult owing to the badness and insecurity of the roads, that practically it does not go on at all. Whatever therefore a single traveller may glean in his personal experience must be as nothing when compared with the vast *terra incognita* which lies outside of his observations. Take India for example; is it possible for any one here to form the most distant conception of what is passing through the minds of the thirty millions of Muhammadans scattered from the Himalaya to Cape Comorin? And if this be impossible here, it is inconceivably more difficult elsewhere. With respect to the body of the people in Persia, in Central Asia, Arabia, in Central Africa, or even in Turkey, there are not data anywhere on which to form a single trustworthy judgment about the general drift or character of religious feeling among them. Judging from the analogy of human nature everywhere else, we may be tolerably certain that the immense majority are too actively occupied with the simple struggle for existence to care about "world movements" or "epochal phenomena." We do not, however, say that Mr. Palgrave is not right. He may be for aught we know to the contrary. What we do assert is, that if he is correct it is by accident. Neither he nor any one else has the means of ascertaining the truth by any inductive process. These are facts which, it appears to us, must strike every one who thinks for a moment about the matter, and they spare us the necessity of any further inquiry. For if the knowledge be impossible *per se*, it is not worth while to advance a step further, and see if one part looks more or less probable than another.

But this way of dismissing the subject will certainly not satisfy most people. When a writer of distinguished ability comes forward and gravely asserts in print that "an epochal phenomenon" is going on through the whole Muhammadan world, people are glad to

believe it. It gives them "the creeps;" and "the creeps" are a pleasant sensation as every one knows who remembers the effect of a ghost story on his infantine mind. There is a pleasant and dignifying impression of mystery and sublimity imparted to one's insignificant existence when we are told on good authority that an "epochal phenomenon" is actually in process of evolution under our very noses. We confess to yielding to this temptation ourselves. No one positively believes in ghosts, but every one is always willing to listen to a ghost story; and we turned to Mr. Palgrave's pages quite willing to give a half credence to his bogies, provided they were well got up, with plenty of blue fire, and novel of their kind. But we were disappointed. Mr. Palgrave's bogies are too palpably impositions of the theatrical kind to excite any emotion beyond a certain mild amusement. The chief among them is in fact only our old friend "the Indian Mussalman" as depicted by Dr. Hunter. India's share in the "epochal movement" depends altogether upon the authenticity of "the Patna Caliphs," "the preachers nurtured in sedition," "the army of the Crescent," and the other scenic decorations so well known to the Indian public. Mr. Palgrave evidently believes in them all with quite undoubting faith—a circumstance which goes far to discredit his lucubrations altogether. It shows at least that of Indian Muhammadanism he can know nothing whatever, and therefore, when Mr. Palgrave speaks of "an epochal phenomenon" in which he expressly includes India, it will be safe to deduct considerably for the effects of a too fervid imagination, and to limit his conclusions to his own personal experience. The statement is, in fact, an example of that vice of generalising from an imperfect induction of which we took Comte's Law of the three states as a typical example. So much for Bogy No. I.

Bogy No. II is described in the following passage, which is one out of several similar in the book.

"We should accustom ourselves to look on our Indo-Mahommetan subjects, not as an isolated clique, girt in by our power, our institutions, and if need be, our bayonets, but as part and parcel of a great brotherhood that radiates, so to speak, from Mecca as its centre, &c. &c. With more justice than the first converts of Christianity, the Muslim may boast that 'the multitude of them that believe are of one heart and of one soul;' loss and gain are reckoned among them in common, the grievance of one is the grievance of all; and the enemy of one frontier is hated up to, and, where possible, assailed from the most distant other."

This picture of the unity of Islam is a favourite one of the Muhammadan alarmists. They are never weary of painting and repainting it; and it shows the profound ignorance of the European world regarding the life of Islam that it never fails to command admiration and assent. It is an audacious fiction contradicted at every step by

the whole tenor of Muhammadan history. Muhammad is traditionally reported to have said, that his faith would be sub-divided into seventy-two sects, and that all these save one (which he did not indicate) were reserved for everlasting torments. The speech was of course concocted long after the death of the Prophet, and manifestly in order to account for the fierce internal schisms, which, commencing immediately after the death of Muhammad, never ceased to tear and rend asunder the unity of Islam till they left it the feeble and exhausted thing it is at present. All through the period of the Caliphate these religious dissensions never ceased for a moment; and they were carried on with a matchless cruelty and bloodthirstiness. The Caliph himself invited the fierce Mongol Tchenghiz Khan to ravage the dominions of the Muhammadan Kings of Kharczm; the Crusaders could never have maintained themselves in Palestine and Syria but for the alliance of the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt; at this present moment it is the disunion which prevents any co-operation between the potentates of Central Asia that is giving the Khanates into the hands of Russia; it is the bitter animosities that divide the Persian and the Turk, which place the existence of both in such imminent jeopardy; only thirty years ago, but for the interposition of the British Government, the Pasha of Egypt would have wrested his fairest provinces from the Sultan of Turkey; and ever since their first aggressive movement there has been war between the Sultan of Turkey and the Wahabees of Arabia. The calamities—and they are as numerous as the sands of the sea—which have descended upon the countries of Islam have, almost without exception, been occasioned because there was no unity in Islam,—because not merely no two adjoining States could not forget selfish interests in a common purpose, but because no two districts, no two cities could in times of peril be prevented from plotting each other's destruction. If Europe has nothing to fear until "the unity of Islam" is an accomplished fact, we may rank that danger in the same category as those astronomical possibilities which trouble some people—what would happen if the supply were exhausted of fuel in the sun; what would be the effect of a comet coming full tilt against the earth, or of a storm in the sun which should shoot out a tongue of flame sufficiently long to reach the earth. They are, we suppose, all possible contingencies, but as the Frenchman remarked regarding the existence of the Deity, they "want actuality." So much for Bogy No. II.

Bogy No. III. is what purports to be an account of the present state of Muhammadan feeling in India, and is a very finished piece of imaginative writing. Our readers will be at once struck with its remarkable truthfulness.

"So strong, indeed, is the bond of union supplied by the very name of Islam, even where that name covers the most divergent prin-

ciples and beliefs, that in presence of the "infidel," the deep cleft which divide Soonee and Sheeah are for a time and purpose obliterated; and the most heretical sects become awhile amalgamated with the most uncompromising orthodox, who in another cause, would naturally reject and disavow them. Very curious in this respect is the evidence afforded by Mr. Hunter In India, and most notably on its North-Western Frontier, the Sheeah superstitions of Imam and 'Mahdee' with the secret associations and murderous practices of the Ismayeeleeh or Assassins, so long established in the neighbourhood of these very provinces (A.D. 1000, 1200 *circa*), and not improbably, as I have heard suggested on excellent authority, still maintaining an underhand existence there, have all combined together, and been toughly welded into one formidable weapon of attack on the common foe, the uncircumcised infidel of the land, governing or governed." We hardly know what to do with such a passage as this, except to admire the calm confidence with which a series of blunders are set down as undoubted facts. It is not to be wondered at if the many, who have no means of discovering the truth, should start at every feather when writers like Mr. Gifford Palgrave make such startling statements as the above, ignorant or careless whether or not they have a particle of truth in them. In India, we are told "the deep clefts which divide Soonee and Sheeah are for a time and purpose obliterated"—the purpose being to overthrow the British Empire. The recent outbreak in Cashmere when the Soonees murdered and plundered the Sheeahs is sufficient to rebut this assertion; but quite apart from this, every one who has conversed with Indian Muhammadans knows that the gulf between the two sects is as broad and deep as ever, though the power of British rule restrains them from a public exhibition of it. This is among the more orthodox and educated Muhammadans; there is, however, a sense in which among the many "the deep gulf" is obliterated, by both parties degenerating into Hindoo practices and superstitions, as for example, the ceremonies of the Mohurram; while amongst the lower orders of Muhammadans the difference ceases to exist because very few of them know whether they be Soonees or Sheeahs. The present writer, for curiosity's sake, has made a point of asking uneducated Muhammadans the sect to which they belong; but does not remember to have met with one who could tell him. They referred him generally to some deceased relative who was supposed to have this knowledge once, but the tradition had ceased with him. But this "obliteration" is not of the nature spoken of by Mr. Palgrave, and is certainly not actuated by an overwhelming desire to subordinate all minor matters to a holy war against the British Government. We are then told that "the sect of the Assassins" was for a long time established close to our

North-Western Frontier—that they probably exist at the present day—and that owing to them, in India and along our North-West Frontier, “the Sheeah superstitions of Imam and ‘Mahdee,’ with the secret associations and murderous practices of the Ismaeleeeyeh have been toughly welded into one formidable weapon of attack on the common foe”—to wit, we suppose, the British Government. In reply we would state that the “sect of the Assassins” never came within a thousand miles of our frontier—their nearest establishment was in the neighbourhood of Ispahan. As for “the excellent authority” who suggests they still exist there, we should like to know in what respect his excellence consists before we give any credence to his suggestion. Again, to speak of the “Sheeah superstitions of Imam and Mahdee” combining with the “practices of the Ismaeleeeyeh” as though they were the conjunction of two heterogeneous elements held together by hatred of the English, is absurd. They were in conjunction from the beginning; the Grand Master maintained his supremacy over his subjects by means of the belief that he was preparing the way for the advent of the Mahdee, and in direct communication with him. But the whole passage is absurd from beginning to end. The teaching of Syud Ahmed as preserved by his disciples is full of denunciations against the Sheeah heretics; what Mr. Palgrave in another place terms “the organized practice of private assassination” is unknown in India, either in the North-West Frontier or anywhere else; and to speak of that miserable colony of Sittana, as all the various sections of Islam in India “toughly welded into one formidable weapon of attack,” is simply exhibiting ignorance and credulity—ignorance as to the real character of “the Sittana host,” and credulity in accepting Dr. Hunter’s terrifying epithets without a liberal allowance of salt.

Mr. Palgrave brings forward several other phantoms, but they as little bear examination as those we have discussed. In conclusion we can only repeat our regret that a writer in many ways so eminently qualified to instruct his countrymen on matters of which they are dangerously ignorant, should max his usefulness by reckless assertions. Thus he says, in his essay on “The Mahometan Revival”—“a month after this essay was written, arrived the news of the assassination of Lord Mayo.” Now every one knows that the murder of Lord Mayo had no more to do with a “Muhamadan Revival” than the death of Louis Napoleon Buonaparte. Mr. Palgrave has therefore placed himself in this awkward predicament—either he knew this, in which case he is guilty of a *suggestio falsi*; or he did not; in which case he stands convicted of making statements which, if true, would be of the most serious and alarming character, without taking the trouble to ascertain if there be any foundation for them or not. It is not a pleasant position.

